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# modern language notes

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VOL. LXXV, NO. 5, MAY 1960

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# modern language notes

VOL. LXXV, NO. 5, MAY 1960

## *Beowulf* 1408 ff.: A Discussion and a Suggestion

This note is an attempt to resolve some of the problems residing in a few lines of *Beowulf* which have received varying treatment in the hands of editors and translators of the poem. The lines in question are the following:

Oferēode þā	æþelinga bearn
stēap stānhliðo,	stige nearwe,
enge āpaðas,	uncūð gelād,
neowle næssas,	nicorhūsa fela;
hē fēara sum	beforan gengde
wīsa monna	wong scēawian,
oþ þæt hē fēringa	fyrgeñbēamas
ofer hārne stān	hleonian funde,
wynlēasne wudu;	wæter under stōd
drēorig ond gedrēfed.	Denum eallum wæs,
winum Scyldinga	weorce on mōde
tō geþolianne,	ðegne monegum,
oncýð eorla gehwām,	syðþan Æscheres
on þām holmlife	hafelan mēttan.
Flōd blōde wēol	—folc tō sēgon—
hātan heolfre.	Horn stundum song
fūslic fyrdlēoð.	(1408-24) <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Quotations from *Beowulf* are from Fr. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed. with supplement (Boston, [1941]).

The first problem concerns the phrase *æþelinga bearn* and the singular verb *oferēode*. A check of editions, translations, and commentaries at hand reveals that two (nineteenth-century) editors,<sup>2</sup> fifteen translators,<sup>3</sup> and one commentator<sup>4</sup> regard *bearn* as singular here. On the other hand, five editors,<sup>5</sup> four translators,<sup>6</sup> and two commentators<sup>7</sup> regard it as plural. Six editors<sup>8</sup> offer no comment on the passage, and three more<sup>9</sup> recognize the problem but do not commit themselves to a solution.

There is also a similar lack of agreement concerning *hē* in l. 1410. Three editors,<sup>10</sup> six translators,<sup>11</sup> and two commentators<sup>12</sup> suggest

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Kemble, *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, etc.*, I, 2nd ed. (London, 1835); A. Holder, *Beowulf*, II a, *Berichtiger Text* (Freiburg i. B., 1884).

<sup>3</sup> L. Ettmüller, *Beowulf, Heldengedicht des achten Jahrhunderts* (Zürich, 1840); H. von Wolzogen, *Beowulf . . . aus dem Angelsächsischen* (Leipzig, [1872]); M. Heyne, *Beowulf, angelsächsisches Heldengedicht* (Paderborn, 1863); T. Arnold, *Beowulf, A Heroic Poem of the Eighth Century* (London, 1876); H. W. Lumsden, *Beowulf . . . Translated into Modern Rhymes* (London, 1881); J. M. Garnett, *Beowulf, etc.* (Boston, 1882); C. W. M. Grein, *Beowulf stabreimend übersetzt*, 2nd ed. (Kassel, 1883); J. Earle, *The Deeds of Beowulf* (Oxford, 1892); J. Lesslie Hall, *Beowulf, etc.* (Boston, 1892); C. G. Child, *Beowulf and the Finnesburh Fragment* (Boston, 1904); W. Huyshe, *Beowulf, an Old English Epic* (London and New York, 1907); F. B. Gummere, *The Oldest English Epic* (New York, 1909); W. E. Leonard, *Beowulf, etc.* (New York and London, 1923); R. K. Gordon, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London and Toronto, 1926), 4-70; Gavin Bone, *Beowulf, in Modern Verse* (Oxford, 1945).

<sup>4</sup> W. W. Lawrence, rev. of Klaeber, ed. cit., *JEGP*, xxiii (1924), 294-300.

<sup>5</sup> J. J. Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1826), 82-136; B. Thorpe, *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, etc.* (Oxford, 1855); F. Holthausen, *Beowulf*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1921-29); M. Heyne, *Beowulf*, rev. L. L. Schücking, 13th ed. (Paderborn, 1929); Klaeber, ed. cit.

<sup>6</sup> A. D. Wackerbarth, *Beowulf, Translated into English Verse* (London, 1849); M. E. Waterhouse, *Beowulf in Modern English* (Cambridge, 1949); J. R. Clark Hall, *Beowulf and the Finnsburg Fragment*, new ed. rev. C. L. Wrenn and J. R. R. Tolkien (London, 1950); D. Wright, *Beowulf* ([Harmondsworth, 1957]).

<sup>7</sup> J. Hoops, *Kommentar zum Beowulf* (Heidelberg, 1932); S. O. Andrew, *Postscript on "Beowulf"* (Cambridge, 1948).

<sup>8</sup> C. W. M. Grein, *Beowulf nebst den Fragmenten Finnsburg und Valdere* (Cassel and Göttingen, 1867); C. W. M. Grein, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, rev. R. P. Wülcker (Kassel, 1883), I, 18-277; J. A. Harrison and R. Sharp, *Beowulf, an Anglo-Saxon Poem, etc.* (Boston, 1883); H. Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 7th ed. (Oxford, 1894) [*Bwlf* II. 1251-1651, 106-119]; A. J. Wyatt, *Beowulf*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1898); C. L. Wrenn, *Beowulf with the Finnesburg Fragment* (London, [1953]).

<sup>9</sup> A. J. Wyatt, *Beowulf with the Finnsburg Fragment*, rev. R. W. Chambers, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1920); W. J. Sedgefield, *Beowulf*, 3rd ed. (Manchester, 1935); E. V. K. Dobbie, *Beowulf and Judith* (New York, 1953).

<sup>10</sup> Kemble, Holthausen, Klaeber, edd. cit.

<sup>11</sup> Wackerbarth, Gummere, Gavin Bone, Waterhouse, Wright, edd. cit.; H. Gering, *Beowulf nebst dem Finnsburg-Bruchstück* (Heidelberg, 1906).

<sup>12</sup> Hoops, Andrew, op. cit.

that *hē* refers to Hrothgar. Five (nineteenth-century) translators<sup>13</sup> identify *hē* as Beowulf. Three editors<sup>14</sup> admit *hē* is ambiguous but offer no solution, while nine translators<sup>15</sup> and five editors<sup>16</sup> leave *hē* unexplained.

It should be pointed out, however, that since the publication of Klaeber's notes on the text of *Beowulf*,<sup>17</sup> editors, translators, and commentators, following Klaeber's lead, have with greater unanimity regarded *bearn* as plural and *hē* as referring to Hrothgar. A cursory check of Old English usage helps to explain the previous divergences of opinion. The genitive plural *æpelinga* is used with a singular noun only once, to my knowledge, in the phrase *æpelinga aldorwisa* (*Gen* 1237),<sup>18</sup> and whenever the phrase *æpelinga bearn* is used elsewhere,<sup>19</sup> a plural signification is clearly intended. On the other hand, so far as I know, the word *bearn* is used in a plural meaning with a singular verb only once: in *hwæt his bearn dyde* (*Gen* 856), where *bearn* refers to Adam and Eve. In all other instances, *bearn* with a singular meaning is used with a singular verb,<sup>20</sup> and with a plural meaning, with a plural verb.<sup>21</sup> Thus, if we concentrate our attention on *oferēode*, we can regard *bearn* in *Bwf* 1408 as singular; but if we dwell on *æpelinga*, we naturally assume that *bearn* is plural. It is this situation which leads Andrew<sup>22</sup> to propose emending the verb in *Bwf* 1408 to *oferēodon*.

But regardless of editorial opinion and usage in Old English, it is curiously dissatisfying to take *hē* in l. 1410 as referring to Hrothgar. We are told that Hrothgar is an old man (l. 357) and that he travelled

<sup>13</sup> Ettmüller, Heyne, Grein, Wolzogen, Earle, edd. cit. note 3.

<sup>14</sup> Wyatt rev. Chambers, Sedgefield, Dobbie, edd. cit.

<sup>15</sup> Arnold, Lumsden, Garnett, Lesslie Hall, Child, Huyshe, Leonard, Gordon, Clark Hall, edd. cit.

<sup>16</sup> Thorpe, Harrison and Sharp, Sweet, Wyatt, Wrenn, edd. cit.

<sup>17</sup> Klaeber, "The Textual Interpretation of *Beowulf*, I," *MP* III (1905-06), 235-65.

<sup>18</sup> Quotations and line references from poems other than *Beowulf*, both in the text and in the notes, are based on *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (New York, 1931-42). Abbreviations are those proposed by F. P. Magoun, Jr., *Études Anglaises*, VIII (1955), 138-46.

<sup>19</sup> As, for example, in *Bwf* 2597, 3170; *Gen* 1654. Cp. the phrases *firena bearn*, *Chr* 1566; *bearn wera*, *Rdl* 26/18; *Gēata bearn*, *Bwf* 2184; *hælepa bearn*, *Bwf* 1189; *ylde bearn*, *Bwf* 70; *gumena bearn*, *Bwf* 878; *foldwonga bearn*, *Gen* 1951.

<sup>20</sup> As, for example, in *Chr* 147-48, 744-45, 903-04; *Xst* 586-87, 620-21; *And* 575-76; *Ele* 444-46, 849-51; *Bwf* 910, 1836-37; 529, 631, 957, 1383, 1473, 1651, 1817, 1999, 2177, 2425. Nine of the last ten examples are the formulaic *Beowulf mapelode, bearn Ecgðeowes*.

<sup>21</sup> The examples cited in note 19 are all followed by a plural verb.

<sup>22</sup> Op. cit., 62.

to the haunted mere on horseback (l. 1399). And yet when one reads the lines

stēap stānhliðo,	stige nearwe,
enge ānpaðas,	uncūð gelād,
neowle næssas,	nicorhūsa fela (1409-11)

one is impressed by the sense of muscular effort they convey.<sup>23</sup> This does not seem to be the sort of terrain one traverses on horseback. Nor does the *beforan* of l. 1412 make sense if we identify *hē* as Hrothgar. Why should Hrothgar go on before with guides to spy out the land? From his description of the haunted mere (ll. 1361-76) we know that he is already well acquainted with the locale. It is far more logical to assume that Beowulf, guided by Danish warriors, has pushed on ahead of the main troop to reconnoitre the ground.

At this point a further consideration suggests itself. We are told that the haunted lake can be reached on horseback, and that the way is even smooth enough in places for horse-racing.<sup>24</sup> These facts are hard to reconcile with the difficult terrain described in ll. 1409-11, and with the muscular effort the very sound of the lines implies is necessary to cross it. It is possible to reconcile these discrepancies by assuming that there were two routes to the abode of Grendel and his dam, one which could be traversed on horseback, and another, shorter route which required the agility of a mountaineer to negotiate. Both routes, I suggest, were known to the Danes, and Beowulf took the shortcut with a few Danish guides, while Hrothgar went the long way round on horseback. This interpretation of the action of the poem at this point seems reinforced by the reference to the *horn* in l. 1423. The only other place in the poem where the word is used in the sense of trumpet is at l. 2943, where the remnants of Hæthcyn's army, quaking in terror in Ravenswood, are reprieved from certain death at the hands of Ongentheow by the sound of Hygelac's *horn ond byman*. Apparently the horn was used as a signal between two groups of men within earshot, but out of sight of one another. Since the trumpet serves as signal in this latter instance, it seems logical to assume that it fills the same function in l. 1423, and it indicates to Beowulf and his companions the approach of Hrothgar and his troop.

<sup>23</sup> I am aware that *enge ānpaðas*, *uncūð gelād* appears also at *Ero* 58, and that Virgilian echoes have been cited (see Klaeber, *Beowulf*, 184). Rather than regard this line as a borrowing from *Ero*, it would be more sensible to take the phrases as belonging to a common corpus of poetic formulaic expressions (see Magoun, *Spec* XXVII [1953], 446-67).

<sup>24</sup> A horse is bridled by Hrothgar, *Bwif* 1399, and the warriors returning from having tracked the dying Grendel race their horses, *Bwif* 853-67.

We are left with *æþelinga bearn* and *hē*. I would suggest that *bearn* refers to Beowulf<sup>25</sup> and that the phrase could be emended (if emendation were deemed necessary or desirable) to *æþelinges bearn* to make it conform with Old English usage and with the singular verb *oferēode*. In this way an antecedent would be provided for *hē* (*pace* Andrew!), and the logical demands of both the grammar and the sense would be satisfied.

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KENNETH KEE

## A Possible Addition to the Sidney Canon<sup>1</sup>

Professor William Ringler has written a cogent analysis of the poems that an editor should include in the Sidney canon.<sup>2</sup> At least 278 poems are indubitably by Sidney: 76 in the revised *Arcadia*, 31 in "Certaine Sonets," 119 (109 sonnets and 11 songs) in *Astrophil and Stella*, three in the "Lady of May," five poems in the original *Arcadia* that were not included in the revised version,<sup>3</sup> an additional "Certaine Sonet" first printed by Feuillerat (IV, 401), and forty-three metrical Psalms. Of thirty poems "that have at any time been attributed" to Sidney, Professor Ringler shows that only five should be printed in a complete edition of Sidney's poetical works. Three of these approach certain authenticity: "*Dick*, since we cannot dance," "Joyne mates in mirth to me," and "Walking in bright PHOEBUS blaze" (II, 323-328). The other two, "Wearte thou a kinge" (II, 341) and "The darte, the beames, the stringe" (II, 349), should be set apart, Ringler concludes, "in an appendix clearly titled as containing poems only 'possibly' by Sidney" (pages 150-151).

<sup>25</sup> Wrenn, ed. cit., 237-38, discussing the MS reading *brond* at *Bwif* 1020 and the common emendation to *bearn*, remarks that *brond* is more fitting for Hrothgar because "bearn would be more suitable to a younger man." Surely the same argument applies to *Bwif* 1408?

<sup>1</sup> The research for this article has been supported by a Cornell Faculty Research Grant and a Department of English Grant-in-Aid. I am also indebted to Professor William Ringler for valuable suggestions and criticisms and to Dr. Giles F. Dawson of the Folger Library for his helpful replies to my queries.

<sup>2</sup> "Poems Attributed to Sir Philip Sidney," *SP*, XLVII (1950), 126-151.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge, Eng., 1912-1926), II, 238-240; IV, 118-119, 160-162. Hereafter, Roman and Arabic numerals in parentheses shall refer to volume and page number of Feuillerat's edition.

To this pair of poems "possibly" by Sir Philip Sidney, I should like to add two sonnets not considered by Ringler, Feuillerat, or other editors of Sidney's works. These sonnets, it seems to me, have a stronger claim to inclusion in a complete edition of Sidney's poetry than have "Wearte thou a kinge" and "The darte, the beames, the stringe."

The two poems occur in Henry Goldwell's pamphlet describing the Whitsuntide triumphs of 1581 in honor of the ambassadors of Queen Elizabeth's French suitor, the Duke of Anjou.<sup>4</sup> The challengers in these games were Sidney; Fulke Greville; Frederick, fourth Lord Windsor; and Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel. Calling themselves the Four Foster Children of Desire, they attacked the Castle or Fortress of Perfect Beauty—that is, "the Gallary or place at the end of the Tiltyard adioning to her Maiesties house at *Whitehall*, whereas her person should be placed" (Goldwell, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>). In his dedication to Rowland Brasebridge, Goldwell states that he has collected the "speeches, and chiefest inuentions, which as they bee, I present to your presence" (sig. A2<sup>r</sup>), but he fails, unfortunately, to identify the authors of the poems or the prose orations. Malcolm W. Wallace, however, calls the reader's attention to the "true Arcadian" speeches of the triumph, which he attributes in its entirety to Sir Philip Sidney.<sup>5</sup> Morris W. Croll rightly differentiates between the Arcadian speeches made "on behalf of all the challengers" and the Euphuistic speeches made on behalf of the defendants, and asks whether Sidney did not write the former.<sup>6</sup> Neither Wallace nor Croll sifts the evidence for the authorship of the challengers' speeches, however, nor does either mention the following two poems.

At the beginning of the triumph, a page approached the queen's "fortress" and sang as follows (sigs. A8<sup>v</sup>-B<sup>r</sup>):

<sup>4</sup> *A briefe declaratiō of the shewes . . . performed before the Queenes Maiestie, & the French Ambassadors . . . on the Munday and Tuesday in Whitson weeke last, Anno 1581* (London); STC 11990. Quotations are cited from photoduplicates of the copy in the Huntington Library. Goldwell's pamphlet is reprinted in John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1823), II, 310-329.

<sup>5</sup> *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge, Eng., 1915), p. 264. Friedrich Brie, *Sidneys Arcadia: Eine Studie zur Englischen Renaissance* (Strassburg, 1918), pp. 291-294, states that both Sidney and Greville had a hand in the writing of the triumph and cites several parallels between it and various chivalric combats in the new *Arcadia*. But his remarks, like Wallace's, are too general to be probative of authorship.

<sup>6</sup> See Lyly's *Euphues*, ed. Croll and Harry Clemons (London and New York, 1916), p. II, n. 4.



Yeelde yeelde, O yeelde, you that this FORTE do holde,  
which seated is, in spotlesse honors field,  
Desires great force, no forces can withhold:  
then to DESIERS desire, O yeelde O yeelde.

Yeelde yeelde O yeelde, trust not on beauties pride,  
fayrenesse though fayer, is but a feeble shielde,  
When strong Desire, which vertues loue doth guide,  
claymes but to gaine his due, O yeelde O yeelde.

Yeelde yeelde O yeelde, who first this Fort did make,  
did it for iust Desires, true children builde,  
Such was his minde, if you another take:  
defence herein doth wrong, O yeelde O yeelde,

Yeelde yeelde O yeelde, now is it time to yeelde,  
Before thassault beginne, O yeelde O yeelde.

When that was ended, another Boye turning him selfe  
to the *Foster* children and their retinue, sung  
this Allarme.

Allarme allarme, here will no yeelding be,  
such marble eares, no cunning wordes can charme,  
Courage therefore, and let the stately see  
that naught withstandes DESIRE, Allarme allarme.

Allarme allarme, let not their beauties moue  
remorse in you to doe this FORTRESSE harme,  
For since warre is the ground of vertues loue,  
no force, though force be vsed Allarme allarme.

Allarme allarme, companions nowe beginne,  
about this neuer conquered walles to swarme,  
More prayse to vs we neuer looke to winne,  
much may that was not yet, Allarme allarme.

Allarme allarme when once the fight is warme,  
then shall you see them yelde, Allarme allarme.

The purpose of the remarks that follow is to bring together the detailed evidence that points to Sidney's authorship of the challengers' speeches and the two sonnets just cited.

Goldwell implies that Elizabeth's courtiers had a hand in the composition of the triumph.<sup>7</sup> Now three of the challengers—Sidney,

<sup>7</sup> Goldwell states that after the French ambassadors came "to the English court, The Nobles and Gentlemen of the same . . . agreede among them to prepare a Triumphe, whiche was very quickly concluded, and being deuised in moste sumptuous order, was by them performed in as valiant a manner. . . ." He then adds that the Four Foster Children of Desire "made their inuention of the foresaide Triumphe in this order and forme following" (sig. A3<sup>r-v</sup>).



Greville, and Arundel—were writers.<sup>8</sup> Hence each of them has a claim to be considered as the possible author of the challengers' speeches and of the sonnets. But Sidney's claim is by far the strongest. The most active poet and prose writer of the challengers, Sidney devised several entertainments and achieved a notable reputation as a maker of impresas.<sup>9</sup> In style, moreover, the challengers' speeches and the sonnets are quite unlike the known works of Greville and Arundel,<sup>10</sup> but very similar to the prose and poetry of Sidney. Many of Sidney's favorite rhetorical devices occur in the prose of the challengers. Consider, for example, the characteristic use of the parenthetical interjection, so frequent both in the speeches of the Foster Children of Desire and in Sidney's works:

Whereto if you yelde, (O yelde for so al reason requireth) then haue I no more to say, but reioice that my sayings hath obtained so righ[t]full, and yet so blissefull a request. But if (alasse but let not that be needfull) BEAVTIE be accompanied with disdainfull pride, and pride waighted on by refusing crueltie. Then must I denounce vnto you (Woe is me, answere before it be denounced) that they determine by request to accomplish their claim [Goldwell, sig. A4<sup>v</sup>].

<sup>8</sup> Lord Windsor, so far as I have been able to determine, was not.

<sup>9</sup> For Sidney's entertainments, see "The Lady of May" (II, 329-338) and "A Dialogue Betweene Two Shepherds, Uttered in a Pastorall Shew, at Wilton" (II, 323-324). A letter of February 6, 1583/4, from Sir Arthur Basset to Sir Edward Stradling suggests that Sidney is arranging a musical entertainment for a company of gentlemen at Salisbury on "the VIIth of March nexte" (*Sidneiana*, ed. Samuel Butler [London, 1837] p. 81). On Sidney's reputation as a deviser of impresas, see Edmund Molyneux in *Holinshed's Chronicles* (London, 1587), sig. 7L3<sup>r</sup>; Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622), sig. Cc4<sup>r</sup>; and William Camden, *Remaines of a Greater Worke* (London, 1605), pp. 165, 174.

<sup>10</sup> So far as Greville is concerned, the reader may easily check this judgment by consulting the *Poems and Dramas*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, 2 vols. (New York, 1945) and *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Nowell Smith (Oxford, 1907). Arundel's works are more difficult to come by, being scattered in manuscripts and early printed books. A detailed list may be found in *The Venerable Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel*, ed. John H. Pollen and William MacMahon, Catholic Record Society, xxi (London, 1919), pp. 324-330; specimens of his verse have been printed in Louise I. Guiney, *Recusant Poets*, I (London and New York, 1938), 226-228. Neither a long religious poem in 126 six-line stanzas ("O wretched man wch louest earthly things") attributed to Arundel in Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 219, ff. 1-14<sup>r</sup> and Folger MS. 297.3, ff. 73<sup>r</sup>-82<sup>r</sup>, nor shorter poems attributed to him, bear a stylistic resemblance to the Fortress of Beauty sonnets. (Indeed, none of the attributed poems cited by Pollen, MacMahon, and Guiney are sonnets.) Of Arundel's prose, I have read all the letters printed in Pollen and MacMahon's collection, the translation of Johann Justus (Landsberger), *An Epistle in the Person of Christ to the Faithfull Soule* (Antwerp, 1595), STC 14627, and Arundel's ("Callophiscus'") challenge to a tournament at Westminster on January 22, 1580/1 (a copy of the challenge is in the Folger Library). None of these writings resembles the Arcadian prose of the challengers' speeches.

In the countrie of *Thessalia*, (alas why name I that accursed country, which brings forth nothing, but matters for tragedies? but name it I must) in *Thessalia* (I say) there was (well may I say, there was) a Prince (no, no Prince, who bondage wholly possessed; but yet accounted a Prince, and) named *Musidorus*. O *Musidorus*, *Musidorus*; but to what serve exclamations, where there are no eares to receive the sounde? [Sidney, I, 159; cf. IV, 98.]

That anyone other than Sidney could then have written a prose so Arcadian seems doubtful.<sup>11</sup> Such close stylistic similarities, illustrations of which could easily be multiplied, would seem to justify a conservative editorial decision to label the prose of the challengers as "possibly by Sir Philip Sidney." There is no reason to relegate to a more dubious classification the two poems imbedded in the prose. The following are arguments in favor of Sidney's authorship of the poems.

1. At the time of the Fortress of Beauty pageant, Sidney was the most active English practitioner of the sonnet form.<sup>12</sup>

2. The manner of the Fortress of Beauty sonnets is Sidneyan; both poems, and especially the first, display a use of *epizeuxis*, *polyptoton*, and other figures of repetition, which is quite like Sidney's practice. As for the matter, the conflict of Desire against Virtuous Beauty is of course a commonplace, but it is one that Sidney develops again and again in his amatory verse.

3. The second sonnet is a line-by-line reply to the first. Sidney wrote similar companion pieces in the old *Arcadia* and in "Certaine Sonets."

a. "Feede on my sheepe, my Charge, my Comforte, feede" and "Leave of my sheepe, yt ys no tyme to feede" (IV, 118-119).

<sup>11</sup> In the spring of 1581, very few could have imitated the *Arcadia*, since very few had access to a manuscript of it. On 18 October 1580, Sidney wrote to his brother Robert: "My toyfull booke I will send with Gods helpe by February" (III, 132); the reference is doubtless to the first version of Sidney's romance.

<sup>12</sup> By the spring of 1581, Sidney had already written the twenty sonnets of the old *Arcadia* (IV, 25, 89, 91, 108-109, 118-119, 169-171, 179-180, 187, 189, 196, 202, 206, 216-217, 219, 236-237, 256, 347; see also a quatorzain in poulter's measure, IV, 27, and another in rime royal, IV, 117) and had very probably written most, if not all, of the thirteen quatorzains in "Certaine Sonets" (II, 301-302, 305-306, 308-309, 310-312, 322). Professor Ringler reminds me that the only other living Englishman who had written a comparable number of sonnets by 1581 was Thomas Howell: see the twelve sonnets and two quatorzains in *Howell's Devises, 1581*, ed. Sir Walter Raleigh (Oxford, 1906), pp. 16-17, 25, 34, 38, 42, 45, 48-49, 55-56, 77-79, 85-86; two other sonnets in *Devises* are attributed to "E. L." and "I. K." (pp. 56, 97-98).

b. "The Merchaunt Man, whome gayne dothe teache y<sup>e</sup> Sea" and "The Merchaunt man, whome many seas have taughte" (IV, 161-162).

c. "A Satyre once did runne away for dread," Sidney's companion piece to Edward Dyer's "*Prometheus* when first from heaven hie" (II, 308-309).

The first and third of these pairs are sonnets, as are the companion pieces in the *Fortress of Beauty* triumph. Moreover, the rhetorical pattern of "Feede on my sheepe" and "Leave of my sheepe" is extremely close to that of "Yeelde yeelde, O yeelde" and "Allarme allarme." In each case, the opening phrase constitutes a refrain which is repeated at the beginning of each of the main prosodic divisions—at lines 1, 4, 7, 10, and 13 of the *terza rima* sonnet "Feede on," and at lines 1, 5, 9, and 13 of "Yeelde yeelde."

In view of the evidence cited above, it would seem appropriate, pending discovery of positive proof or disproof of Sidney's authorship, for an editor of Sidney's complete poetical works to place "Yeelde yeelde, O yeelde" and "Allarme allarme" with the small group of poems "possibly by Sir Philip Sidney."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> External evidence of Sidney's authorship of "Yeelde yeelde, O yeelde" may lie in a manuscript by Abraham Fraunce. An entry in the catalogue of the sale of Benjamin Heywood Bright's manuscripts at Sotheby's in 1844 reads as follows:

101 Fraunce (Abraham) Yeeld, Yeeld, O Yeeld: Omnia vincit amor. Venus est Dignissima pomo.

An Original and unpublished work by this singular writer, addressed to Sir Philip Sidney.

So far as I can tell, none of Fraunce's extant works begins or has the title, "Yeeld, Yeeld, O Yeeld." I am informed by M. J. Kennedy of the British Museum that Item 101 was purchased for £4 by someone called "Rodd." This may be Thomas Rodd, bookseller, of 9 Great Newport Street, London, or Horatio Rodd, bookseller, of 23 Little Newport Street, London. The manuscript is not mentioned in Thomas Rodd's *Cat. of MSS. & Ancient Deeds* (1845), the only catalogue of manuscripts by either Rodd which I have been able to examine. Further inquiries have failed to turn up the Fraunce item.

If we are to judge from the description in Sotheby's catalogue it would seem that Fraunce wrote a work, perhaps a lengthy poem (it seems unlikely that "Rodd" would have paid £4 for a short piece) with a possible mythological framework ("Venus est Dignissima pomo"), the title or the opening words of which were the same as the refrain of the first *Fortress of Beauty* sonnet. And it seems, furthermore, that Fraunce dedicated this work to his patron, Sir Philip Sidney. It is very possible that we have here a pointed example of Fraunce's habit of flattering imitation of works from Sir Philip's hand. The discovery of the manuscript purchased by "Rodd," or perhaps of a detailed description of it, may afford something very close to positive proof of Sidney's authorship of the *Fortress of Beauty* sonnets.

## Coleridge's Use of Cathedral Libraries

The extensive borrowings by Coleridge from the Bristol Library in the 1790's are well known.<sup>1</sup> But the record of volumes lent to him from cathedral libraries reveal new facts of no slight importance in his development. To present the complete record of this reading is the purpose of the present study.<sup>2</sup>

First in time as in significance are the borrowings from the Carlisle Cathedral Library. On April 4, 1801, there were "lent to Mr. Coleridge" these fourteen works:

### Malebranch's [sic] Search after Truth—<sup>3</sup>

Malebranch's Search after Truth or a Treatise of the Nature of the Humane Mind . . . [2 vols.] Vol. 1. Translated from the French [by R. Sault]. 1694.

### Vitae Germanorum Theologorum—

Vitae Germanorum Theologorum, qui Superiori Seculo Ecclesiam Christi Voce Scriptisque propagarunt et propugnarunt, Heidelberg, 1620.

### De Causis Errorum—Herbertus—

De Causis Errorum, Edward Herbert, Baron of Cherbury, 1656.

### Idem—De Veritate—

De Veritate prout distinguitur a Revelatione, Edward Herbert, Baron of Cherbury, 1656.

### Hobbes—De Cive—

Elementa Philosophica seu Politica de Cive, Thomas Hobbes, Amsterdam, 1647.

### Idem—De Corpore—

Elementorum philosophiae sectio prima, De corpore, Thomas Hobbes, 1655.

### Elements of Philosophy—by the same—

Elements of Philosophy, The First Section concerning Body, Written in

<sup>1</sup> George Whalley, "The Bristol Library Borrowings of Southey and Coleridge 1793-8," *The Library*, 5th series, iv (1949), 114-132, gives more complete titles, additional data, and some revisions, amplifying the present writer's list in "The Reading of Southey and Coleridge: The Record of Their Borrowings from the Bristol Library, 1793-98," *MP*, xxi (1924), 317-320.

<sup>2</sup> For permission to quote from the register at Carlisle I am indebted to Dr. Cyril Mayne, Dean of the Cathedral; and I am similarly indebted to Miss June Cooling, assistant librarian at the Durham Cathedral Library. To Miss Mary Snaith, Hon. sub-librarian of the Carlisle Cathedral Library and deputy city librarian at Carlisle, I am most grateful for help in many respects.

<sup>3</sup> The titles are reproduced here as in the register. In the identifying title which follows each entry the place of publication is London unless otherwise specified.

Twelve of the fourteen works are still in the Library. The other two, as individually noted, cannot be identified with certainty.

Latine by Thomas Hobbes . . . and now translated into English. To which are added Six Lessons to the Professors of Mathematicks . . . in the University of Oxford. 1656.

D<sup>o</sup>—of Civil Law—by Do

Not identifiable from the Cathedral Library catalogue or other records.  
Hobbesii Vita—

Thomae Hobbes Malmesburiensis Vita Carmine expressa Authore seipso. 1681.

Stillingfleets Answer to Locke—

A Discourse in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity . . . together with an Answer to Mr. Locke's Letter, Edward Stillingfleet, 1697.

D<sup>o</sup> Right to sit in Parliament—

This cannot be identified from Cathedral records, but a probable title is: The Grand Question concerning the Bishop's right to vote in Parliament. Edward Stillingfleet, 1680.

Sir K. Digby on Bodies & Souls

Of Bodies and of Man's Soul, Sir Kenelm Digby, 1669.

More's Phil. Collections—

A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings, Dr. Henry More, 1662.

Cardanus de vita propria

Hieronymi Cardani Mediolanensis, de Propria Vita Liber, Paris, 1643.

This truly impressive array is recorded as a loan "Teste Geo. Law . . . by the hands of Mr Losh with orders to be ret<sup>d</sup> to Mr Brown." And the whole transaction is concluded with the reassuring notation: "1802 July 2 returned—J. Brown." In formal proof thereof a heavy check mark was duly inscribed against each of the fourteen titles, showing that after fifteen months they were restored—as they were borrowed—all at one time.

So runs the record in the historic old lending register at the Carlisle cathedral library, one of eight registers surviving from the Eighteenth century in English cathedral libraries. In this one at Carlisle, the continuous sequence of lending begins in 1703 and continues until 1872 in the same folio volume. And this entry quoted turns out to be the most memorable in this and in all of the other known registers.

This discovery makes obvious addition to our knowledge of Coleridge's reading. But of course the kind of works which he chose from the shelves of the old Fraternity at Carlisle is no surprise. This particular concentration on metaphysics, which is a departure from

<sup>4</sup>The best conjecture is: *De Corpore Politico; or, The Elements of Law Moral and Politic*, Thomas Hobbes, 1650.

the previous choices at Bristol and Göttingen, constitutes merely specific evidence of the range and intensity of his questing spirit. It is significant that the "Search after Truth" should head the schedule of titles.

The influence of these books on Coleridge's own creative efforts now awaits a study by students, who will find the transmutation of this reading particularly in his prose.<sup>5</sup>

Such study we should expect to be enlightening. But of no little interest also in the laconic record is the reminder of large gaps in our biographical knowledge. In spite of the array of detail accumulated by industrious investigation, we are still confronted with long periods of which we know all too little in the lives of the great poets. So we welcome this glimpse of a new personal relationship of no slight import in the poet's development.

Of the participants in the lending process the two members of the Chapter at Carlisle call for no further description than mere identification: the Rev. John Brown, a minor canon probably serving his turn as librarian at the time, and Dr. George Law, son of the Bishop of Carlisle and he himself being successively Bishop of Chester and of Bath and Wells. But the key figure, James Losh (1763-1833), emerges now as more important than hitherto recognized. A native of Woodside near Carlisle, Losh is known as an early and lifelong friend of Wordsworth—too long has he been ignored as a devoted, courageous political and religious liberal. Undoubtedly it was through Wordsworth that Coleridge met him; without a doubt we can assume that Losh informed Coleridge of the cathedral's library resources and made the necessary arrangements for the unusual loan to Coleridge.

We know that by 1796 Coleridge was acquainted with Losh and with his translation of Benjamin Constant's pamphlet *De la force du gouvernement actuel . . .*, but of contact between the two during the next five years we have only a few meagre references in Losh's diaries; we do have this record in the library register showing that Losh was not only sponsor but actual surety for the safe return of the fourteen volumes.

<sup>5</sup> A stage in the process appears in the various references and quotations reflecting reactions to the Carlisle volumes, as found in *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Kathleen Coburn, Vol. I (London, 1957). Several quotations, two of them lengthy passages from the *Elementorum philosophiae* (937F) and one of more than a page from the *Six Lessons* (937G), show a special preoccupation with Hobbes. Other writers borrowed at Carlisle receiving brief but rather frequent mention are Digby and More, especially the latter.



How the selection of these particular titles was made remains unknown. Nine days after the entry in the register Coleridge wrote, on April 13, that "there is the Cathedral library at Carlisle, from whence I can have any books sent to me that I wish." But he never mentioned a personal visit to the city until two years later. We must therefore assume that Losh not only obtained the books but sent them to Coleridge at Keswick. And how did Losh know which titles to choose? As no printed catalogue was available, did Coleridge give his older friend a list of desiderata, or had Losh reported some of the sections in the library which might appeal, or both? In any case, the poet was fortunate to have found so influential a friend, who was willing to make such effort on his behalf.

Apparently Coleridge achieved all he wished in this single loan. Within less than four months after the arrival of the precious parcel in his study at Keswick, some restless urge, born perhaps from this very reading, sent him forth to the Durham cathedral library, whither he went to get Duns Scotus, according to his own testimony. But here (as he wrote to Southey) he had "no small trouble in gaining permission to have a few books sent to me 8 miles." Here there was no James Losh. On July 25, 1801, in the old folio with a heavy double chain there are duly entered the shelf marks of three works borrowed by "Mr Coleridge by Mr Haggitt." These were a volume of the *Opera omnia*, 1612, of Aquinas, the *Disputationes*, 1619, of Suarez, and a volume of Casaubon's *Operum Aristotelis*, 1605. Within barely a month, on 24 August, these were entered as returned.

In trying to fill out a picture of Coleridge's borrowing from cathedral libraries we should not forget the accessibility of the Bristol cathedral library, which in the 1790's, when he was making such notable use of the resources of the Bristol Library Society, was one of the largest ecclesiastical collections of printed books in Britain. But here, if a register of loans was kept, it was destroyed, in the riots of 1831, along with almost ninety per cent of the 7,000 volumes. We can reasonably conjecture that Coleridge visited and borrowed from these shelves. While he would not find current publications there, as he did at the Society's quarters scarcely a mile away in King Street, he could find theology and philosophy, history and antiquities, biography and memoirs, the Latin and Greek classics, and some travel. For such was the prevalent composition of these collections.

In the light of all we know of Coleridge we are not surprised to



discover that he holds certain unique distinctions anent the use of the libraries. First, so far as the eight surviving borrowers' registers (those of Canterbury, Carlisle, Durham, Exeter, Gloucester, St. Paul's, Winchester, and York) can show, he is the only layman to be allowed to receive books from another layman, who became responsible to the Dean and Chapter. Then,—and how typical of him!—he holds the record for quantity of volumes taken in one day. To use his own description, he was "intemperate in books"! And his final distinction is to be the greatest of the English writers whose names have an honored place in these eloquent and historic records.

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## The Manichee in the Cloister: A Reading of Browning's "Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister"

The subject of Browning's "Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister," according to Berdoo, is human nature, human nature sharply divided into extremes of good and evil which will reveal themselves within the very cloister.<sup>1</sup> And, indeed, the surface of the poem invites this reading: the Speaker the very type of the evil monk, oblivious to the irony of his profession; Brother Lawrence, his foil, the embodiment of the monastic vows. Browning's contrast is but too clear, his range from "Gr-r- you swine" to "*Ave Virgo*" and back again, the full measure of man. Or, we are told, the poem illustrates "a Protestant's dislike and distrust of asceticism."<sup>2</sup> Or, again, Browning here presents satirically "the case against ascetic ritualism."<sup>3</sup> Mr. Arnold Williams, however, has provided us with a more subtle reading, one which shifts the conflict in the poem from moralistic to dogmatic channels, which turns the Speaker into a "hair-splitting theologian," a "Pharisaical precisionist," an exponent of "extreme rationalism and exaggerated intellectualism" as he "attempts to trap his victim into heresy" and thus illustrates the "complete antithesis of Browning's notion of true religion." The "great text" of the poem is in

<sup>1</sup> E. Berdoo, *The Browning Cyclopedic*, 2d ed. (New York, 1950), p. 472.

<sup>2</sup> W. C. DeVane, *A Browning Handbook*, 2d ed. (New York, 1935), p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Langbaum, *The Poetry of Experience* (London, 1957), p. 87.

Galatians, easily susceptible of heretical misinterpretation, and he who trips on it can be sent "flying / Off to hell, a Manichee."<sup>4</sup>

My notion is that Browning's poem is better read emblematically; that the great text of the "Soliloquy" is the Manichaeian heresy, which will reveal to us not only the subject, but a structure, irony, and significance not usually accorded the poem.

It is generally assumed that the "scrofulous French novel / On gray paper with blunt type" to be opened "At the woeful sixteenth print" necessarily places Browning's poem in a modern setting, albeit with Renaissance over-tones.<sup>5</sup> Except that the over-tones seem at times to overpower the fundamentals, there is little reason to dispute the modern setting, unless one accuses Browning of having lapsed into anachronism; or, unless one reads *French novel* so loosely as to allow room for dating the setting at any time from Rabelais, to Scarron, or, more likely because of the "woeful" print, to *Manon Lescaut*, for example. Nor does the reference to the "Barbary corsair" limit the time of the "Soliloquy" specifically, inasmuch as the Barbary States continued their piracy from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Remembering, then, the full title of the poem, "Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister," not used until the 1849 edition,<sup>6</sup> let us hypothesize the backdrop of the Spanish Inquisition, involving a parallel time span of three centuries, roughly the sixteenth to the nineteenth, come to the crucial text of the poem, as I see it, and pose the question: In a Spanish cloister, during the Inquisition, what was it to be damned a "Manichee"?

It was to be accused of heresy on either or both of two scores. It was to be baited with a general term of opprobrium, as subversive to church and/or state, in a loose but far from meaningless usage of the term. Or, it was to be accused technically of the Manichaeian heresy, of being an exponent of a dualistic faith inimical in greater or lesser degree to Christian orthodoxy. Both usages are significant to Browning's "Soliloquy"; that is, the Speaker seeks to damn Brother Lawrence as *Manichaeian* and *Manichee* both.

<sup>4</sup> "Browning's 'Great Text in Galatians'," *MLQ*, x (1949), 90.

<sup>5</sup> DeVane, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112. The 1842 edition of the poem was labelled *Cloister* (Spanish) in the group entitled *Camp and Cloister*, of the *Dramatic Lyrics*. An interesting parallel is supplied by "The Confessional," the second poem of the group called *France and Spain* in the *Dramatic Romances* of 1845. Berdolet interprets the poem as set during the Spanish Inquisition (pp. 116, 117); DeVane disputes the point (p. 171). Both the "Soliloquy" and the "Confessional" are related by DeVane to Browning's Italian journeys.

Although technically Manichaeism, arising in the third century, had already passed its height in the sixth, it continued to be a force for more than a thousand years thereafter.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the label of Manichee was used retro-actively to apply to second century gnosticism. But whether Marcionists of the second century, Priscillianists of the fourth, Cathars of the twelfth, Knights Templars of the fourteenth, or Freemasons of the eighteenth—all were tarred with the same pitch; they were Manichees. Pope Nicholas II in the eleventh century inveighed against them no less than Pope Gregory the Great of the sixth.<sup>8</sup> For in the Middle Ages Manichaeism meant less the precepts of Mani than gnosticism or dualism of any sort. The "ordinary Medieval Churchman, in the East as in the West" considered that "all Dualists were Manichaeae"; "the average orthodox Christian when faced with any sign of dualism, would cry out 'Manichaeae,' and every one would know that here was rank heresy."<sup>9</sup> It is heresy, then, but more specifically dualism under the all-embracing label of Manichaeism that requires recognition for our understanding of Browning's "Soliloquy."

Dualism, of whatever stripe, was constant in its two principles, its opposing absolutes of spirit and matter, light and dark, good and evil, that could be reconciled only after death when the spirit might return to the light from whence it came. It posited three ages, the first before the creation of the world, the present universal conflict, and the third, to come, in which the light would conquer. Inasmuch as flesh and spirit could by no means be reconciled on earth, the divinity of Christ was questioned; Satan ruled the world as a kind of demi-urgic principle; procreation was deplored since it increased evil and delayed salvation. Upon these basic premises elaborate systems were erected, varying from sect to sect of dualists, more or less obnoxious to Christian orthodoxy, but always seriously dismaying to church and state, sufficiently to erupt into an Albigensian Crusade, for example.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> A. V. W. Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism* (New York, 1932), p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> J. C. Wand, *A History of the Early Church to A.D. 500* (London, 1937), passim; Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (New York, 1907), iv, 298; "The Papal Bulls" in Eugen Lenhoff, *The Freemasons*, trans. Einar Frame (New York, 1934), pp. 283-319.

<sup>9</sup> Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge, 1947), pp. vii, 4, 17, 18. (Note Runciman's caution: "The historian who meets the word 'Manichaeae' in medieval writers cannot at once assume that Mani's teaching in all its complexity is meant. It may be so, but more probably it is not.")

<sup>10</sup> Runciman, *passim*; A. V. W. Jackson, "Source of the Albigensian Heresy,"

The relationship between heresy and the Epistle to the Galatians, the "great text" of Browning's poem, is complex.<sup>11</sup> The Galatian capital for two centuries after Paul was the stronghold of heresy, of the "Montanist revival . . . splitting into diverse sects, Ophites, Manichaeans, sectaries of all kinds."<sup>12</sup> Believing themselves to be the true disciples of Christ, the earliest heretics tailored their own Scriptural canon to suit their doctrinal needs; indeed they were instrumental in forcing the orthodox to fix and close the New Testament canon against them. Generally speaking, the great gnostics of the second century rejected the Old Testament and accepted only selected portions of the New.<sup>13</sup> Marcion, accused by Tertullian, and Epiphanius too, of basing his system on Galatians, placed it first among the ten Pauline epistles acceptable to him.<sup>14</sup> Whatever canonical disagreements occurred among the Western dualists, Galatians appears to have been universally acceptable, to Marcion, to Valentinus, to Basilides, and others.<sup>15</sup> The quantity of extant, Patristic exegesis on Galatians (greater than that on any other of the Pauline epistles) must be attributed, at least partially, to defensive necessity.<sup>16</sup>

And it is logical that dualism should have found Galatians comfortable. St. Paul's chastisement of the Galatians for backsliding from the New Faith to the Old Law of the Hebrews, enjoining them against formalism, provided a parallel to the dualists' espousal of their own new faith and their rejection of the old law of orthodox Christianity. Mr. Williams is exactly right in insisting that it is not the specific sins St. Paul enjoined upon the Galatians that constitute

in *Outline of Christianity*, eds. A. S. Peake, R. G. Parsons, II, 249, 259; Jackson, *Researches*, pp. 3-20.

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Arnold Williams (*MLQ*, 90) must be credited with first seeing the relationship in respect to Browning's "Soliloquy": "Standard theological treatises list a great many errors concerning the status of the old law, and the proof texts cited in these treatments quite often come from Galatians 3. In some treatments mention is made of the error of the Manichees that the old law was evil."

<sup>12</sup> J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London, 1866), 2d ed. rev., pp. 32, 33.

<sup>13</sup> Brooke Foss Westcott, *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament* (London, 1896), pp. 276-282; Prosper Alfarié, *Les Ecritures manichéennes* (Paris, 1918), II, 161-168.

<sup>14</sup> Tertullianus, *Adversus Marcionem*, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, 1879, pp. 502-511 (Lib. 5, cap. 2-4); Runciman, p. 9 n. 2, 10; Westcott, p. 324.

<sup>15</sup> See: Rudolphus Cornely, "Introductio Specialis in Novi Test. Libros Sacros," in *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae* (Paris, 1897), III, 431; Alfarié, I, 111-138. Note the frequent and crucial references to Galatians in the anti-heretical writings of Tertullian, Epiphanius, Irenaeus, Justin, and Hippolytus.

<sup>16</sup> Lightfoot, pp. 223 ff.; C. H. Turner, "Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles," in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, v, 484 ff.

the "twenty-nine distinct damnations" by which the Speaker hopes to damn Brother Lawrence, but that in his misinterpretation of Galatians, a difficult text and controversial, Brother Lawrence will incur any one of twenty-nine [the specific number still unhappily remains obscure in origin] "condemnations" for heresy<sup>17</sup> The point requires a little extension; Brother Lawrence, the Speaker assumes, will trip in Galatians not only as one might trip on any difficult text, but because it is a key text for the Manichaeans; by his attitude to the very name of the epistle he will reveal himself in his true colors, a "Manichee."

The point is crucial to the second of the Speaker's temptations of Brother Lawrence, the temptation to succumb to the "scrofulous" novel, the "woeful" print. The trap, I believe, is only incidentally a moral one, primarily a dogmatic one by which Brother Lawrence will reveal himself a heretic. The Manichee was vulnerable simultaneously on the scores of his chastity and licentiousness both. On the one hand he was identifiable by his chastity, though it was enforced only upon the Elect; on the other, certain of the dualists were given, it appears, to various kinds of sexual improprieties. (Note the derivation of *Bougre* from Bogomil.) But it was not sexuality, only its possible results that were deplored; a Cathar *could* not "sin below the navel"; a Messalian, after initiation, was irrevocably pure.<sup>18</sup> "Simply glance" at the French novel, and you, the Speaker, anyone, grovels "hand and foot in Belial's gripe." But to Brother Lawrence the temptation offered is not that he will thereby reveal his immorality so much as his familiarity with lust, even as his familiarity with Galatians. Though, actually, the Speaker can have it two ways; if Brother Lawrence remains impervious to novel and print, he betrays himself as chaste, certainly, but simultaneously as Perfect, or Elect, at least to the Manichee hunter.<sup>19</sup>

Or, should fraud and guile not avail, Brother Lawrence is to succumb to force. And this is the third temptation; he is to be sold to the Devil at a price which, however, the Speaker plans to evade. Whether the Speaker be construed as a foolish villain or an arch rationalist, his confidence in his Faustian<sup>20</sup> plan requires justifica-

<sup>17</sup> *MLQ*, 90.

<sup>18</sup> Runciman, pp. 10, 152, 176 n. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Jackson, *Restarches*, p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Although I have been unable to establish any specific connections between historical Manichaeism and the Faust legend, there may be some pertinent significance here in the fact that St. Augustine's final disillusionment with

tion. Unless Satan is entitled to the soul of Brother Lawrence, it cannot be sold to him, whatever the price. What makes the plan for the damning death of Brother Lawrence possible is the fact that he is a "swine" of a Manichee to the Speaker; the indenture is merely reasonable payment for a reasonable service. And *Hy Zy Hine*, it has been suggested, is the occult incantation<sup>21</sup> by which Satan is summoned to do his proper work. But it is more than the Satanism of which the dualists were always suspect that is involved here; it is sorcery too, and sorcery, properly defined, constitutes yet another kind of heresy.<sup>22</sup> The Devil can be trusted to know his own.

The crucial question in Browning's "Soliloquy" is not how the Speaker "knows" Brother Lawrence for a heretic, but how he can make him reveal it. But, inevitably, and herein lies the central irony of the poem, how does the Speaker "know"?

He knows because he is the true "Manichee" of the piece, the real heretic who everywhere reveals himself. Note the conspiratorial tone of the poem; the mounting frenzy, the increasingly fragmentary, desperate (rather than foolish) quality of the temptations; the lust for the "damning death"<sup>23</sup> of the victim. And the Speaker is revealed not only in the climax of the poem, but just as carefully in the six stanzas preceding it—the practice, let us say, preceding the theory of heresy. He blasphemes with heretical vigor;<sup>24</sup> he is dedicated to aborting Brother Lawrence's labors among the fruits and flowers,<sup>25</sup> as is reasonable for one who believes that God and Nature are ever apart;<sup>26</sup> nor is Latin any more efficacious for him than the

the heresy was marked by his famous controversy with the fourth century Manichee, Faustus of Mileve.

<sup>21</sup> Fred A. Dudley, "Hy Zy Hine," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, xxv: I (March, 1957), 63-68.

<sup>22</sup> Runciman, p. 10; Lea notes that *Coeli et Terrae*, the bull by which Sixtus V defined the relationship between sorcery and heresy, was not published in Spain until 1612 because the Spanish Inquisitors were jealous of episcopal power (iv, 185-190). Pope Sixtus V, incidentally, is the subject of Browning's subsequent "Bean Fest" and "The Pope and the Net." For implications concerning the Faustian nature of the Speaker of the "Soliloquy" see: Harold George Meek, *Johann Faust, The Man and the Myth* (London, 1930), pp. 112-130.

<sup>23</sup> I use the term in contrast to the Cathar's concept of the "divinizing Death." See: Dennis de Rougemont, *Love in the Western World* (New York, 1957), Doubleday-Anchor, p. 173.

<sup>24</sup> Lea, iv, 331.

<sup>25</sup> Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke suggest that the Speaker's contempt for flowers stemmed from the Spanish prejudice against the Moriscos who "were good at the same sort of tasks" (*Browning Study Programme* [New York, 1900], p. 526).

<sup>26</sup> Runciman, pp. 12 ff.



holy word, nor cleanliness next to Godliness, for to the Manichee life is dark and impure and devotion to it, even though on Brother Lawrence's monastic terms, foolish. The Speaker wishes it to be known that he is no Arian; but he is, plain and simple, a Manichee. He is thus eminently qualified to go heresy hunting. He is shrewd and knowing, far from a simple fool, but just as far from a "rigid intellectual," an illustration of "exaggerated intellectualism."<sup>27</sup>

The ironies proliferate. The Speaker, emerging as a Devil quoting Scripture, a Satan hunting heresy in heaven, becomes the very type of the heretic-inquisitor. The cloister becomes less the subject of the poem than the microcosm, the world in which inquisition is waged. The point of view shifts in sustained tension from what the Speaker "knows" to what we know of him, from what he is to what he thinks he is. Read thus, the poem becomes the dramatic working out of the logic, of the very rhetoric, of heresy.<sup>28</sup>

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## Peter Quince's Orchestra

The music of Wallace Stevens' "Peter Quince at the Clavier," writes Babette Deutsch, "rings thinly and sweetly as a harpsichord."<sup>1</sup> W. S. Johnson argues that the poem is a clavier sonata as distinguished from a violin sonata, and rather oddly insists that Part III is a scherzo.<sup>2</sup> Mary Jane Storm assigns an andante and a recapitulation to the poem.<sup>3</sup> Each of these analogies contains a measure of truth but tends to "freeze" the fluctuant movement of the poem within a single formula. We should not expect such fixity of reference

<sup>27</sup> Williams, *MLQ*, 90.

<sup>28</sup> Only specific knowledge of what Browning knew of church history, for instance, of the byways of his reading for *Paracelsus* and *Sordello*, if available, could provide us with historical justification for a reading such as I suggest. Is the name Brother Lawrence, for example, fortuitous, or had Browning read of *Frere Laurent de la Resurrection*, the humble lay brother of the Carmelite order, who for forty years was nourished by a vision of a flowering tree in the snow? See: Frere Laurent, *The Practice of the Presence of God*, published posthumously in 1691; mentioned in Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism* (New York, 1950), pp. 190, 191.

<sup>1</sup> *Poetry in Our Time* (New York, 1952), p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> "Some Functions of Poetic Form," *JAAC*, XIII (June, 1955), 496-506.

<sup>3</sup> *Explicator*, November, 1955, No. 9.



from a poet whose associational embellishments are famous for their variety and range. If there is any continuity in Peter Quince's orchestra, it might plausibly be identified as a baroque ensemble of strings. The hypothesis must yield to one exception—the dramatic burst of cymbals and roaring horns, which might be translated, “Enter lascivious red-eyed elders.” Another exception might be the ballet-like interlude of the Byzantines with their imagined tambourines.

As the poem opens, Peter Quince is at the keyboard—presumably as a player-conductor like Bach, or as The Man with the Blue Guitar (if we think of another poem explicitly commenting on the poet as composer). But whether Peter Quince is actually or only figuratively there is one of the nice questions of the poem. In any event he disappears from view very quickly, and is present to our consciousness in the remainder of the poem only as a director in the pit might be present (not visible), and, rather curiously, when he steps on stage in Part IV of the poem to announce, perhaps in a kind of recitative or *Sprechstimme*, the “message” of his music-drama.

The orchestra can be cued in or silenced at will by the director, like the music that Ariel commands in *The Tempest*. It is not magic that accomplishes this, however, but the associational virtuoscity of Peter Quince—Kapellmeister, composer, conductor, and musician extraordinary. Identify him as Stevens or The Man with the Blue Guitar, he it is who calls the tune, whose baton signals the entrance of the bass viols, the treble viols, the legato or pizzicati passages, the muted strings, the sudden crash of cymbals and horns (which instantly transform the baroque ensemble into a “programmatic” orchestra augmented à la Berlioz).

# I

Just as my fingers on these keys  
Make music, so the selfsame sounds  
On my spirit make a music, too.

Music is feeling, then, not sound;  
And thus it is that what I feel,  
Here in this room, desiring you,

Thinking of your blue-shadowed silk,  
Is music. It is like the strain  
Waked in the elders by Susanna.

Of a green evening, clear and warm,  
She bathed in her still garden, while  
The red-eyed elders watching, felt

The basses of their beings throb  
In witching chords, and their thin blood  
Pulse pizzicati of Hosanna.

## II

In the green water, clear and warm,  
Susanna lay.  
She searched  
The touch of springs,  
And found  
Concealed imaginings.  
She sighed,  
For so much melody.

Upon the bank, she stood  
In the cool  
Of spent emotions.  
She felt, among the leaves,  
The dew  
Of old devotions.

She walked upon the grass,  
Still quavering.  
The winds were like her maids,  
On timid feet,  
Fetching her woven scarves,  
Yet wavering.

A breath upon her hand  
Muted the night.  
She turned —  
A cymbal crashed,  
And roaring horns.

## III

Soon, with a noise like tambourines,  
Came her attendant Byzantines.

They wondered why Susanna cried  
Against the elders by her side;

And as they whispered, the refrain  
Was like a willow swept by rain.

Anon, their lamps' uplifted flame  
Revealed Susanna and her shame.

And then, the simpering Byzantines  
Fled, with a noise like tambourines.

## IV

Beauty is momentary in the mind —

The fitful tracing of a portal;  
But in the flesh it is immortal.

The body dies; the body's beauty lives.  
So evenings die, in their green going,  
A wave, interminably flowing.  
So gardens die, their meek breath scenting  
The cowl of winter, done repenting.  
So maidens die, to the auroral  
Celebration of a maiden's choral.

Susanna's music touched the bawdy strings  
Of those white elders, but, escaping,  
Left only Death's ironic scraping.  
Now, in its immortality, it plays  
On the clear viol of her memory,  
And makes a constant sacrament of praise.

The poem begins with rather specious logic. Since "Music is feeling, then, not sound," the speaker's amorous feeling for a certain woman in blue-shadowed silk "is music." If the reader grants that music is definable as feeling, he balks at the inversion of this: that feeling (amorous desire in particular) is definable as music. The cunning use of musical analogy in the remainder of the poem, however, charms away the logical objections, and persuades the reader that what the poet really meant to say was that amorous feeling is describable in terms of music.

The tone of this poem-in-music hovers delicately between sacramental erotism and urbane comedy. The poem is a kind of miniature opera or music-drama, a set of graceful variations on the theme of Susanna's "immortal" beauty. The theme is announced when the amorous music vibrating the nerve-strings of the poet-speaker is compared with the amorous resonances produced in the elders by Susanna's beauty. There is no disparagement of the elder's amorousness. In fact their response to Susanna's nude beauty is the agency by which that beauty has been immortalized for posterity. By the same agency a twentieth century poet is stirred to add a new dimension to the story, a musical dimension. Thus the message of the poem is the opposite of the story in the Apocrypha.

If the reader's ear is tuned attentively to the music, he will wish to answer the following questions. Who is the principal musician? Does he remain the same throughout the poem? Are there other musicians? What are their instruments? In what mode (at what varying degrees of aesthetic distance and perspective) are they heard?

The most obvious answer is that the Supreme Musician (Supervisor of the "Supreme Fiction," to borrow the language of another poem on the poet's craft) is the poet-speaker, alias Peter Quince, alias The Man with the Blue Guitar. But within the poem we shortly lose sight of him, and Susanna becomes the Supreme Musician. Not consciously does she direct the orchestra, but her beauty stirs all the strings to throbbing life. Even Death plays his scraping ironic tune, when the drama is over, at her command. Were Stevens a Platonist, one would say that Susanna's beauty is like some celestial Idea of Beauty that streams through the universe, touching the "aeolian harps" of human libidos into pulsing music.

Having recognized Susanna as Supreme Conductor of the male orchestra, we must also recognize her as instrument. While she lies languorously in her bath, the "concealed imaginings" and "old devotions" (presumably a kind of erotic reverie) stir her nerve-strings into voluptuous "melody." She "sighs" in melodious legato. She is the euphonious treble viol, and her "movement" might be marked "Reverie, *con passione*." The elders are throbbing bass viols ("the basses of their being" is wittily ambiguous) producing "chords." The chords are not double-stops (two strings on one instrument sounded simultaneously) but the strings of both elders twanging in urgent unison.

As Susanna emerges from her bath and walks "quavering" (in both the musical and physical sense) on the grass, the winds "waver" about her and perform silent dance-motions. Natural phenomena are now her orchestra, playing with caressing and worshipful tone. Fittingly the score calls for "muted" strings. Suddenly the muted passage erupts with crashing cymbals and roaring horns. Not only is Berlioz in charge—or perhaps Richard Strauss or Stravinsky—but this music is not played by Susanna upon the elder's bass viols, nor by her reveries upon Susanna's viol. These are professional musicians waiting in the wings. We are no longer in Susanna's garden but in the opera house watching a plot unfold, a plot underscored and accentuated by a programmatic orchestra. The nerve-strings of the reader now throb in unison with the massed strings of the audience.

At this moment the opera chorus (Susanna's "attendant Byzantines") dances curvingly on stage. We are still part of the massed opera audience. Or perhaps it is an Oriental ballet that we are witnessing. Observe the swaying graceful motions of the Byzantines, who make "a noise like tambourines." Here is the percussion of the

orchestra. But it is here by suggestion only, by courtesy of a simile. Notice too that the Byzantines make no effort to rescue their mistress. Their function is musical and pictorial, not moral. Whispering and simpering, they leave Susanna to her libidinous white-haired companions, and glide smoothly off stage. The ballet *entre-acte* is over.

Now the poet steps out of the pit, mounts the stage and utters some rhythmical aphorisms. Musical "declamations" we might call them, for logic and coherence are not among their virtues. Readers may be reluctant to admit this, for the declamations have the air of a rational proposition buttressed by examples. The examples are lovely in themselves, but related only tangentially to the assertion that "beauty is momentary in the mind" and immortal in the flesh. During this interlude of *Dichterstimme*, the musical dimensions of the poem are very nearly lost. Except for the metrical rhythms and the bewitching double rimes, the sense of music vanishes, and the orchestra dissolves away. For a moment the opera house threatens to become a logician's study or an ethical symposium. But at the critical moment the melodious rime of "maiden's choral" (logically "choral" ought to modify "celebration") restores the musical dimension, and revives the connection, urged earlier in the poem by "pizzicati of Hosanna" and "old devotions," between religious rite and profane love. The orchestra returns, and the piece ends with a dexterous musical coda.

The elders' bass fiddles are now "bawdy strings" pulsing to "Susanna's music." The elders themselves are "white," no longer "red-eyed"—white-haired, doubtless, but possibly white also with distended passion, anger, or simple exhaustion. What in the tension of oestrus seemed hosannas now is "bawdy." But the moral is not puritanic; the elders are not ridiculed or condemned. They are simply out-played by a musician too powerful for them, an old professional. The professional is Death, and the "ironic scraping" of his bass fiddle extinguishes their sonorities. His dissonant scraping even challenges the melodiousness of Susanna. Treble viol (Beauty) and bass viol (Death) engage in a brief fugue, with Death striving to take the lead, refusing to play a mere obligato.

Yet is Death really there after all? His strident music is plainly audible, but perhaps he is intended only as a shadowy, momentary impersonation—for the purpose of dramatizing the aftermath of erotic passion. The elders' white-haired agedness and thin blood are a kind of equivalent of Death, except in the moment when passion stirs them

to life. During that moment they are full of the beauty of Susanna, who like Venus is a symbol of Life and its abundance. When passion subsides or is interrupted, the life that she lends dies away, and the elders are empty. Instead of pulsing hosannas their nerve-strings now emit "ironic scrapings." In fine, Susanna is still the concert-mistress. Even if we imagine the death of her body centuries ago, her body's music is immortal.

One would expect Stevens to suggest at this point that the immortality of Susanna's beauty owes something to the medium of art, the imaginative transmutation of crude experience. There is no hint of this, however, unless the "music" of Susanna's beauty is so intended. If we adopt this hypothesis we must apply it also to the music of the elders. But they inherit death while she inherits immortality. Probably the solution lies outside logic altogether. Susanna triumphs over death because we like it that way—because her beauty dwells more pleasingly in our minds than the elders' senility. Is this equivalent to saying that we all prefer youth to age, and given the choice, imaginatively project ourselves into the former? It is in this sense that Susanna's melodious beauty silences the scraping basses and achieves immortality.

"The clear viol of her memory" [the memory of her] raises its melodious theme above the grim mockeries of Death, and the concerto grosso becomes almost a solo concerto. A solo directed to each reader in his imagined theatre, listening to the melody as if meant for him alone. In the periphery of his consciousness are other reader-listeners, members of a world-wide audience. Together they join in the "sacrament of praise." For each of them is a player as well as a listener. Each is a viol in that timeless orchestra, submitting his mortal strings to the "immortal," in-viol-able musicianship of Susanna.

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## Dante's Impure Beast: *Purg.* XVI, 99

When T. S. Eliot's hippopotamus takes wing, it leaves behind it the same metaphorical mire into which Dante's "chiesa di Roma" had stumbled with its burden many years before (*Purg.* XVI, 129), but if the hippo needs only Mr. Eliot's ironic guidance for its protes-



tant apotheosis, that other clumsy animal, in Dante's view, required nothing less than a universal emperor to lead it out of the miasmal mist.

The beast of burden that is the Church remains unidentified in Marco Lombardo's discourse, but we do know that it is an unclean animal,<sup>1</sup> which can ruminate, but does not have cloven hooves:

Le leggi son, ma chi pon mano ad esse?  
Nullo, però che 'l pastor che procede,  
rugumar può, ma non ha l'unghie fesse;  
per che la gente, che sua guida vede  
pur a quel ben fedire ond'ella è ghiotta,  
di quel sì pasce, e più oltre non chiede.  
(*Purg.* XVI, 97-102)

It has seemed clear to most commentators that these lines are an indictment of the Church, and particularly of Boniface VIII, for a lack of earthly *discretio*.<sup>2</sup> From the allegorizations of the Mosaic dietary laws given by Thomas Aquinas, commentators have usually selected these meanings for "cloven hooves" and "rumination": ". . . fissio ungulae significat . . . discretionem boni et mali; ruminatio autem significat meditationem Scripturarum et sanum intellectum earum."<sup>3</sup> Natalino Sapegno, whose interpretation may be cited as typical, therefore concludes:

. . . il pastore, il pontefice, che procede, va innanzi al gregge e lo guida, ormai solo (avendo usurpato anche il governo temporale), possiede bensì la retta cognizione della legge divina, ma non distingue, *come dovrebbe*, il ben dal male e, mostrandosi avido dei beni mondani, dà il malo esempio agli altri uomini.<sup>4</sup>

While this interpretation seems generally correct, there is an important nuance which it fails to capture, and it is misleading in at least one respect. In Marco Lombardo's description of the symbolic

<sup>1</sup> Levit. ii, 3-4: "Omne quod habet divisam ungulam et ruminant in pecoribus, comedetis. Quidquid autem ruminant quidem, et habet ungulam, sed non dividit eam, sicut camelus et caetera, non comedetis illud, et inter immunda reputabitur." Cf. Deut. 14, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Natalino Sapegno quotes Pietro di Dante: "duo requiruntur in praelatis et etiam in omnibus aliis regentibus, scilicet ruminare, hoc est sapere, et habere discretionem, quod figuratur in ungulis fissis. Et sic presentes pastores, licet sint sapientes, et sic ruminant, tamen non habent ungulas fissas in discernendo et dividendo temporalia a spiritualibus, et sic temporalem iurisdictionem occupando, quae penitus debet esse divisa." *La divina commedia*, a cura di N. Sapegno (Firenze, 1956), II, 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Summa theol.* I-II, 102, a. 6 ad 1. Cited by commentaries of Casini-Barbi, Scartazzini-Vandelli, Sapegno, Gmelin, etc., *ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> Sapegno, p. 184, v. 98 (Italics mine).



beast, it is its *nature* which is under discussion, and not its conduct. It *can* ruminate, "*rugumar può*" (we are not told whether it actually does so or not), but it does not *have* cloven hooves, "*non ha l'unghie fesse*," and therefore to say that it should be sure-footed (*Sapegno's* "*come dovrebbe*") is to ask rather much of the animal. Furthermore, it may be inferred from the context that the remedy for the situation lies in finding another guide, and not in having the Church grow new feet.

The passage might be construed differently, using the same elements: the laws exist, but there is no one to enforce them, since the Church, which by its very nature cannot lead alone in the temporal order (although it can be competent in the spiritual), has usurped the place of the emperor, and succeeds only in leading its flock into the material temptations to which it is itself subject. Both mankind and the Church therefore need, not only a less worldly pope, but especially, and this is the point, a righteous emperor. Such an interpretation would preserve the polemic tone of the passage, but at the same time, it would give to the invective a theoretical justification rooted in Dante's so-called "dualism."<sup>6</sup>

In the *Monarchia*<sup>6</sup> we are told that Christ Himself renounced all temporal power when he replied to Pilate, "*regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*."<sup>7</sup> The Church, whose *forma* is precisely the life of Christ, is therefore similarly limited, but by nature, and not by choice: "*virtus auctorizandi regnum nostre mortalitatis est contra naturam Ecclesie. . .*" Insofar as we consider Christ as God, of course, He is ruler of heaven and earth, but as *man*, wishing the Church to emulate Him, "*regni huius curam non habebat*." So the Church, even if it were not corrupt, would not be competent to lead in the temporal order. Like the impure animals of the exegetes, it could ruminate, but it would not have cloven hooves.

The dual nature of the camel, partially pure and partially impure according to the law, lends itself easily to the imagination of the exegete as a figure of duality or duplicity, and it is possible that it exists in submerged form in Dante's verses, giving them a traditional

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of Dante's "dualism" and relevant bibliography, see E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 462-4. The verses in which the dualism may best be discerned are probably *Purg.* XVI, 106 ff.: "*Soleva Roma . . . / due soli aver, che l'una e l'altra strada / facean vedere, e del mondo e di Dio*."

<sup>7</sup> Dante, *De monarchia* III, 15.

<sup>8</sup> John 18, 36.

resonance previously overlooked. It may be relevant to note, for instance, that the camel was a figure for the Pharisees,<sup>8</sup> and Dante's Boniface was precisely "Lo principe de' novi Farisei" (*Inf.* XXVII, 85). More important, however, is the burden of meaning given to the beast by Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*. There it seems to function in the same way as does Dante's animal. Gregory tells us that any terrestrial administration, even in the service of eternity, is bound to compromise its heavenly aspirations and thereby become impure. Like the camel, even a virtuous administration of worldly goods may have something of God, but because it must also have something of the world, it is in this respect imperfect:

Possunt etiam per camleos, qui ungulam nequaquam findunt, sed tamen ruminant, terrenarum rerum bonae dispensationes intelligi: quae quia habent aliquid saeculi, et aliquid Dei, per commune eas necesse est animal designari. Neque enim terrena dispensatio, quamvis aeternae utilitate serviat, sine perturbatione mentis valet exhiberi. Quia igitur per hanc et ad praesens mens confunditur, et in perpetuum merces paratur, quasi commune animal, et aliquid de Lege habet, et aliquid non habet. Ungulam namque non findit, quia non se penitus anima ab omni terreno opere disjungit: sed tamen ruminat, quia bene dispensando temporalia, per certitudinis fiduciam celestia sperat. Terrenae igitur dispensationes, quasi camelorum more, capite Legi concordant, pede discrepant. . . .<sup>9</sup>

Thus the camel represented for Gregory the compromise inherent in any temporal administration undertaken by Christians. Dante was far less tolerant of such compromise, and if he used the elements of the papal apology, it was not to call for a camel with cloven hooves (an impossibility), but rather for an imperial eagle to lead the way.

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<sup>8</sup> Rupert of Deutz best illustrates the allegorical use of these dietary laws to exhaust the logical possibilities of the "works—faith" duality: works and faith, faith *without* works, works *without* faith, *neither* faith *nor* works (*De trin. et operibus ejus In Levit. Lib II, X* [PL 167, 797]). Because the camel is the first animal mentioned in Leviticus as being partially impure, it became a favorite "mixed" animal. Rabanus Maurus, for instance, recalling Matt. 23, 24, associates the camel with the Jews and the Pharisees who "(non) discernunt ab spiritu litteram," *Expos. in Levit.* III, I (PL 106, 352-3). Among the Scholastics, the figure of the impure animal was a favorite of Bonaventure's. See the following (Quaracchi edition): VI, 165; VIII, 335; IX, 5506.

<sup>9</sup> *Moralia* I, 28, 40 (PL 75, 545).

## The Color Problem in Spanish Traditional Poetry

A helpful way of studying *la poesía de tipo tradicional* is to collate a series of songs which have similar themes. Experience with this kind of poetry teaches that it is thematically impoverished, that a relatively small range of problems which interest the Spanish folk dominates the whole vast corpus of traditional verse. One learns to seek, not original thought, but varied treatment. The charm of traditional poetry resides in the ingenious variations rung on a single theme. For this reason it is proper to speak of thematic traditions, within which several or many poems both live and interact on one another. The suppression and compression that characterize the Spanish folk lyric in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance acquire subtle poetic resonances when seen within a given poetic tradition. What is concealed in a particular poem may be legitimately inferred from other poems like it. Traditional motifs lurk in the background of folksong even though they are not always made explicit. To illustrate these theories I shall examine just one thematic tradition, that of the ugly dark-skinned girl.

A large group of folksongs reflects a kind of national neurosis of Spanish women. In a country where the predominant type is swarthy the ideal of feminine beauty is the green-eyed blonde.<sup>1</sup> As a consequence the brunette has felt herself to be at a pointless disadvantage from birth: she has been saddled with a sort of original sin. The *morena*—"la que no es del todo negra," as she is defined by Covarrubias in the early seventeenth century—feels that she is associated by the color of her skin with the Moorish infidel, and perhaps tainted with his blood; the ideal of possessing the *sangre de los godos* becomes indistinguishable from the ambition to be recognized as a *cristiana vieja*. Furthermore, in a world where black and white symbolize evil and good, she is somehow morally infected by her color. She assumes herself therefore to be ugly and unattractive to men. But there is nothing she can do about it. She must suffer, and hope for the miracle that may make some man find her beautiful. An offer of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Havelock Ellis, *The Soul of Spain* (London, 1908), p. 79: "The prevalence of the very fair type . . . is clearly reflected in Spanish literature. It is sufficient to refer to Cervantes; throughout *Don Quixote* and *The Exemplary Novels* a beautiful woman has golden hair just as she has emerald eyes. . . . The fair woman plays, indeed, in Spanish literature, a much larger part than she is entitled to, for fairness in Spain was not only part of the ideal of beauty, but also the mark of aristocratic birth."

marriage, or merely of love, is on occasion grasped with an unbecoming alacrity, or rejected out of a deep-rooted suspicion that she is being deceived.

The only constant ray of hope in the *morena's* life is the example of the Virgin Mary, traditionally supposed to have been swarthy, and prefigured in the significant words of the Song of Songs: "*nigra sum, sed formosa.*" A religious *villancico* in the *Cancionero de Upsala* crystallizes this pattern of hope:

Yo me soy la morenica,  
yo me soy la morená.  
Lo moreno bien mirado  
fué la culpa del pecado,  
que en mí nunca fué hallado  
ni jamás se hallará.  
Soy la sin espina rosa,  
que Salomón canta y glosa,  
*nigra sum sed formosa,*  
y por mí se cantará,  
Yo soy la mata inflamada  
ardiendo sin ser quemada,  
ni de aquel fuego tocada  
que a los otros tocará.<sup>2</sup>

But, as the song makes perfectly clear, Mary is a special kind of *morena*, exempted by special privilege from contamination by color as she had been exempted from all contamination by the sin the color represents.

For the ordinary girl the dark complexion was something to be ashamed of, since it carried with it the fear of not attracting a husband. Like the poems of the unwilling novice<sup>3</sup> many of the *morena* songs are motivated by terror lest the joy and vitality of youth be wasted. The girl therefore envies others their lily-white faces:

Críeme en aldea,  
híceme morena;  
si en villa me criara,  
más bonica fuera [Alonso-Blecua, 165].

<sup>2</sup> Dámaso Alonso and José M. Blecua, *Antología de la poesía española: poesía de tipo tradicional* (Madrid, 1956), No. 149. The development of this *villancico* is obviously *culto*.

<sup>3</sup> I discuss the thematic tradition of the girl who refuses to obey her mother and enter a convent in the forthcoming homage volume for Professor Helmut Hatzfeld.

The dark color is like an anathema unjustly pronounced on her, a curse on her station in life:

Hadas malas me hicieron negra,  
que yo blanca [me] era [Alonso-Blecua, 301].

But usually the agent of the curse is nature itself. The peasant girl, who beneath her tan may or may not be as white as she thinks, blames constant exposure to sun and wind for her misfortune:

Aunque soy morena,  
yo blanca nací:  
a guardar ganado  
mi color perdí.<sup>4</sup>  
Blanca me era yo,  
cuando entré en la siega:  
dióme el sol y ya soy morena [Cejador, 626].

Con el aire de la sierra  
híceme morena [Alonso-Blecua, 291].

Perhaps, think some, the tan can be washed off:

Aunque soy morenita un poco,  
no se me da nada:  
que con el agua del alcanfor  
me lavo la cara [Alonso-Blecua, 316].<sup>5</sup>

But most girls, more realistically, seek within themselves some compensation for this blow of fate. Even an ugly girl, if she has the Andalusian version of 'personality,' *sal* or *gracia*,<sup>6</sup> may be attractive to men:

Más vale morenita graciosa  
que no blanca y melindrosa [Cejador, 335].

<sup>4</sup>Julio Cejador y Frauca, *La verdadera poesía castellana* (Madrid, 1921- ), No. 778.

<sup>5</sup>The efficacy of washing off skin color is evidently still believed in by Andalusian folksingers: "Déjame pasar, que voy / Por agua a la mar serena, / Para lavarme la cara, / Que dicen que soy morena" [Francisco Rodríguez Marín, ed., *Cantos populares españoles* (2nd ed., Madrid, 1951), No. 4157]. But it is interesting to note that for the most part the Andalusian *coplas* of today show that southern Spanish women have so far conquered this unreasoned fear of a dark skin that they actually exult in *lo moreno*: see Antonio Machado y Álvarez, *apud* Rodríguez Marín, *Cantos populares españoles*, v, 187-189. While this may be true for the vast majority of *coplas* the older tradition survives in a few: cf. in this collection Nos. 4157 and 4158. Rodríguez Marín, in his *Miscelánea de Andalucía* (Madrid, 1927), p. 228, cites a song which disparages the dark color: "Aunque soy morenita, / Mi amor me quiere / Lo mismo que si fuera / Como la nieve."

<sup>6</sup>Cf. the song cited by the folklorist Antonio Machado the elder in his "Post-Scriptum" to *Cantos populares españoles*, v, 196: "No importa, niña, que seas / Morenita de color, / Si tienes en esa cara / Toda la gracia de Dios."

In some cases a particularly self-assertive girl may seek to turn her despised color into some positive advantage. The Andalusian *copla* of today finds a poetic vindication of *lo moreno* in the fact that brown earth grows the best carnations. The traditional song of Castile also stresses the soil's fertility and its power to change colors:

Aunque soy morena  
no soy de olvidar,  
que la tierra negra  
pan blanco suele dar [Cejador, 922].

But in Castile the neurosis has not been conquered as it has in Andalusia. The dark-skinned girl expects—and fervently desires—to have white-skinned babies. Let not the sins of the mother be visited on the generations to come! So, against all genetic probabilities, the sad *morenicas* of Castile yearn for a miracle, or if miracles cannot be granted, for an illusion. A girl who harbors no self-deception that her color is due to sunburn is convinced that her lover must be color-blind:

Morenica me llaman, madre,  
desde el día que yo nací;  
al galán que me ronda la puerta  
rubia y blanca le parecí [Cejador, 975].<sup>7</sup>

The Castilian poetic tradition constantly reflects this neurosis of the *morena*. So many mysterious songs—open to varied interpretations—gain by being read in its light. Let us consider the following strangely beautiful rondo:

Morenica m'era yo;  
dicen que sí, dicen que no.  
Unos que bien me quieren  
dicen que sí;  
otros que por mí mueren  
dicen que no.  
Morenica m'era yo;  
dicen que sí, dicen que no [Alonso-Blecua, 98].

The song is clearly a musical elaboration of a very simple theme: a *morena*, in spite of her color, is sexually very attractive; all the

<sup>7</sup> The song "Morená saladá," well known in Spain today, also represents the sentiments of a lover willing to overlook his beloved's color, and see her on occasion as red-hued or white: 'Eres como la rosa / de Alejandria, / morená saladá, / de Alejandria: / colorada de noche, / blanca de día, / morená saladá, / blanca de día.'



men fall in love with her; some are ready to give her what she wants, but others deny her what she wants. The mystery is two-fold: what does she want, and why the ambivalent response on the part of the lovers? It is unlikely that the girl would present herself in song as promiscuous,<sup>8</sup> so that what she wants can hardly be sexual relations, or for that matter, given the plurality of lovers, marriage. Is it not rather—in view of the tradition that the *morena*, whatever she does, cannot easily be regarded as beautiful—a desire to force men to recognize her beauty? Some, finding her attractive, are apparently willing to strain conventional notions of beauty or to lie to her; others are more honest, if less kind. The song comes to be a protest against the subjectivity of what men consider beautiful. The esthetic effect is enhanced by the fact that the problem is not spelled out. It is a case of elision rather than allusion. But the poetic evasion is elicited by the social taboo.

Similarly, in another song, the grief of a beautiful girl is intensified by reason of the neurosis associated with her color:

Gritos daba la morenica  
so el olivar,  
que las ramas hace temblar.

La niña, cuerpo garrido,  
morenica, cuerpo garrido,  
lloraba su muerto amigo  
so el olivar:

que las ramas hace temblar [Alonso-Blecua, 155].

Her natural sorrow, we may be sure, is augmented by the fact that death has robbed her of a rare chance of vital fulfillment. Though possessed of a splendid body her color is repulsive to men. Since, then, Fate gave her a lover, it is doubly cruel in thus depriving her—a *morena*!—of him.<sup>9</sup> Such an opportunity to escape from the curse of color is not likely to be repeated. Mingled with her mourning is the fear of spinsterhood.

The *morena*, with her peculiar anxieties, must have been regarded by unscrupulous men as an easy victim. She is therefore on her guard against improper advances based on flattery. Calling a *morena* beauti-

<sup>8</sup> Or—more accurately—be presented as promiscuous in a *Frauenlied* written by a male poet identifying himself by symbiosis with the girl.

<sup>9</sup> The *morena* theme here intrudes with great effectiveness on another cycle of songs: those which present a girl or a man mourning the violent death of the loved one in a grove of trees or in a city (cf. Alonso-Blecua, 38 and 52).

ful, flying in the teeth of traditional values, sets a wary girl on the alert:

—Digas, morena garrida,  
¿cuándo serás mi amiga?  
—Cuando esté florida la peña  
de una flor morena [Alonso-Blecua, 197].

The girl's refusal, her poetic way of saying 'never,' is a clear allusion to the color problem, which she imagines the deceitful suitor to be cunningly suppressing. A flower, the symbol of beauty, which is *morena*—that is, ugly—is an oxymoron, a mere figure of speech without basis in reality. The black tulip has been the quest of Dutch bulb-growers for centuries. But the impossibility of a love which ignores the realities of color is further accentuated by the demand that the impossible flower grow in an impossible habitat, hard rock. It is no doubt the need to be ever on guard that earned the *morena* a reputation for frigidity:

Morenica, dime cuándo  
tú serás de mi bando;  
¡ay, dime cuándo, morena,  
dejarás de darme pena! [Alonso-Blecua, 215].<sup>20</sup>

When the reader of folksongs has firmly established a tradition like that of the ugly *morena* he may with more confidence approach the thorniest of his problems: the distinguishing of truly popular poetry from imitations by sophisticated poets. The term *poesía de tipo tradicional* was coined largely in deference to the view that such distinctions were hard, if not impossible, to draw with any assurance. But when a poem—in addition to containing the stereotyped vocabulary of the fifteenth-century courtly poets—flies in the face of a popular belief like that of the ugly *morena*, is it not reasonable to suspect its traditionalism? The following refrain, with its obviously courtly strophe, has been certified as traditionalistic by its inclusion in the Alonso-Blecua anthology:

La que me robó mi fe  
sin tocarme en el vestido,  
la morenita morenica ha sido,  
la morenita morenica fué [Alonso-Blecua, 235].

But for a man to recognize in song that he is attracted by a *morena*

<sup>20</sup> Sometimes her disdain may be brutally expressed: "—Que me muera morena: / ¿quieres tú que me muera? / —Muérete norabuena" [Cejador, 550].

is scarcely conceivable in the popular tradition. The parallelistic last two lines do indeed match similar expressions in genuine folksong, but a folksinger is unlikely to have spoken of falling in love as a theft of his troth. Another example is not quite so obvious:

¡Oxe, morenica, oxe,  
oxte, morena!  
Morena, la tan garrida,  
si sos contenta y servida  
que por vos pierda la vida,  
tendrélo por buena estrena:  
¡oxte, morena! [Alonso-Blecua, 212]

This song is addressed to the "morena . . . garrida." It may therefore be the man's equivalent of the songs in which the girl suspects her wooer of insincerity. In other words, it may call the *morena* beautiful because it is designed as a song of seduction. But here too the language smacks of the court. The poem appears to be an imitation of folksong written by a poet who fails to adapt his composition to one of the fundamental attitudes of the people. The criterion of language, long recognized to be uncertain as a way of determining the popularity of poetry, may turn out to be much more reliable if it is supported by consistent thematic evidence. Investigation does indeed show a remarkable stability in these thematic traditions.

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## Zadig and Job

In his *Zadig* Voltaire presents us with the paradoxical tale of a sage who, despite his piety, virtue, and wisdom, seems destined to move from one misfortune to the next with the added twist that his trials grow in intensity. And then, when he completely despairs of understanding the ways of Providence, an angel, Jesrad by name, comes to him and explains that the purpose of so much unhappiness was to test Zadig and discover whether he could be ranked among the just. "Mais quoi, dit Zadig, il est donc nécessaire qu'il y ait des crimes et des malheurs, et les malheurs tombent sur les gens de bien! Les méchants, répondit Jesrad, sont toujours malheureux. Ils servent à éprouver un petit nombre de justes répandus sur la Terre,

et il n'y a point de mal dont il ne naisse un bien." (*Zadig*, chapter xviii). Shortly thereafter, Zadig becomes king of Babylon by marrying Queen Astarté and they live happily ever after.

The book of Job opens with a challenge by Satan to God that He test the fortitude of Job. God deprives the patriarch of his riches and children and also afflicts him with a hideous disease. From then on, sitting on a dunghill, the stricken Job discusses his wretched state with three friends. They add to his misery by suspecting him of hidden iniquity and exhort him to repent of his sins. Job, however, convinced of the purity of his heart, stoutly proclaims his innocence. At times his physical and mental anguish cause him to curse his existence and to call on God to end his days. Finally he is restored to health and his family and fortune are returned to him.

The trials and tribulations undergone by Zadig and Job although obviously differing in many important aspects have, nevertheless, one essential feature in common: they are to be construed as a test of an exceptionally good man by Divine Providence. This link may be fortuitous but I do not believe it to be so. We know that several years before he composed *Zadig* (first called *Memnon* and published under that title in 1747) Voltaire had read the book of Job and discussed it with Madame du Châtelet.<sup>1</sup> *Zadig* contains numerous pleasantries about revealed religion, priests, and sacred books. In addition to these fairly overt attacks, it does not seem improbable that Voltaire may have amused himself with a sly and tongue-in-cheek rewriting of the book of Job. In his eagerness to improve on the narrative he withheld the explanation of the sufferings of the just man till the very end, thus creating suspense and flavoring the ordeal with the spice of paradox. Also he replaced protracted argumentation with swift-paced incident. Finally, he cast considerable doubt on the value of the revelation vouchsafed by Jesrad to Zadig by prefacing it with the utterly illogical doings of the messenger sent from heaven. Some critics have felt compelled to criticize what they deem the silliness of the Jesrad chapter. It is perhaps wiser to suppose that the silliness is intentional and that we are dealing with a piece of Biblical persiflage.

If I am correct when I imagine that in *Zadig* Voltaire may have poked fun at the book of Job, this view would be in accord with his usual attitude to the Bible which varied from amusement to irritation, but was never one of indifference. Toward Job, when he men-

<sup>1</sup> This fact has been pointed out to me by my friend and colleague Professor Ira O. Wade.

tions him by name, Voltaire adopts a patronizing tone, as in his apostrophe to the long-suffering patriarch in the article *Job* of his *Dictionnaire philosophique*: "Bonjour, mon ami Job, tu n'étais point Juif. Tu demeurais sur les confins de la Chaldée. Avoue que tu étais un grand bavard, mais tes amis l'étaient bien davantage. J'ai été beaucoup plus riche que toi; et quoique j'aie perdu une grande partie de mon bien, et que je sois malade comme toi, je n'ai point murmuré contre Dieu, comme tes amis semblent te le reprocher quelquefois. . . ." <sup>2</sup>

Voltaire has made it clear that two antagonistic styles are locked in combat throughout *Zadig*, the "style de la raison" and the "style oriental," that the latter is the style of the Bible, and that his preferences go to the former.<sup>3</sup> If, as seems probable, *Zadig's* testing by Providence and Jesrad's justification thereof belong to the Oriental style of the book, then we may safely assume that its author was in a mocking mood when he ascribes the endless misfortunes of *Zadig* the just man to a supernatural plan.

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## Zola as Imitator of Flaubert's Style

A reader sensitive to the intricacies of Flaubert's style cannot help noticing the extent to which Zola imitated it. Albert Thibaudet's exhaustive analysis lists Zola as one of Flaubert's imitators,<sup>1</sup> but the allegation is not supported with detailed proof.

It is in certain constantly recurring characteristics of sentence structure that the imitation is most apparent. Thibaudet points to the "période ternaire" as the sentence type most characteristic of Flaubert's prose; he supposes that Flaubert got it from Chateaubriand, though he admits that this stylistic phenomenon in the latter is exceptional.

<sup>2</sup> *Zadig* is not above murmuring against Providence.

<sup>3</sup> *Zadig's* enemies belittle his eloquence: "Il est sec & sans génie . . . on ne voit chez lui ni la Mer s'enfuir, ni les Etoiles tomber, ni le Soleil se fondre comme de la cire; il n'a point le bon stile Oriental." *Zadig* se contentait d'avoir le stile de la raison. (Ch. VII, ed. V. L. Saulnier, Paris: Droz, 1946, p. 30).

<sup>1</sup> *Gustave Flaubert* (Paris, 1922), pp. 320-321.

In the "période ternaire" Flaubert usually arranged his three principal clauses in progressively increasing or decreasing order of length. Ever sensitive to the monotony of undue repetition, he sometimes deviated from these two favored patterns in his most characteristic sentence type. There is a good example of the "coupe ternaire" in the *Légende de Saint Julien L'Hospitalier*:

On y mangea les plus rares épices, avec des poules grosses comme des moutons; par divertissement, un nain sortit d'un pâté; et, les écuelles ne suffisant plus, car la foule augmentait toujours, on fut obligé de boire dans les oliphants et dans les casques.

In this ternary sentence the second clause is shorter than the first, while the third is the longest of the three. Even in this variation Zola followed Flaubert, to wit this sentence from *Le Docteur Pascal*:

Maintenant qu'il était seul, il avait une complète insouciance de la vie matérielle, il se serait contenté de pain et d'eau; et, chaque fois que la servante lui demandait de quoi acheter du vin, de la viande, quelque douceur, il haussait les épaules: à quoi bon?

In both quotations the *et*, set off from the clause it introduces by the semicolon which precedes and a comma which follows, is especially characteristic. Thibaudet describes it as an *et* of movement which introduces the "fin du tableau, le trait décisif" in the ternary sentence.<sup>2</sup>

Flaubert sometimes used a modification of the ternary structure which resulted in a binary sentence:

Mais tous deux chérissaient l'enfant d'un pareil amour; et, le respectant comme marqué de Dieu, ils eurent pour sa personne des égards infinis.

In Zola we also find this type of sentence structure duplicated.

Mais l'enfant avait épuisé le sein droit; et, comme il se fâchait, Clotilde le retourna, lui donna le sein gauche.

Again the *et* stands out prominently.<sup>3</sup>

A curious fact comes to light when we probe a source Zola is known to have utilized. That Zola relied heavily on the *Traité philosophique et physiologique de l'hérédité naturelle* of Dr. Prosper Lucas for his notions on heredity is too well established to be doubted.<sup>4</sup> The first

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence pattern is also very common in the prose of Stendhal.

<sup>4</sup> "Notes et commentaires" to *Le Docteur Pascal*, Bernouard ed. p. 362.



volume of the lengthy treatise appeared in 1847, ten years before *Madame Bovary*, which first acquainted readers with Flaubert's style. In the *Traité* I have found more than one example of each sentence type characteristic of Flaubert. For the "période ternaire" I submit this sentence. Lucas is referring to Plato's *Republic*.

Aussi, loin d'appliquer le principe de l'hérédité au gouvernement, le rejette-t-il complètement de sa république; il n'y veut pas plus d'aristocratie de naissance que de fortune; et, comme il n'y tolère d'autre domination que celle de la vertu et celle des lumières, la souveraineté n'y est transmissible qu'entre les philosophes.

As in the examples taken from Zola and Flaubert, the second clause is the shortest and the third the longest, while the *et* stands out prominently. For the "période binaire" we find a sentence like this in Lucas' treatise:

Si rétrospectif que semble ce point de vue, il n'est pas moins réel; et, pour s'élever aux sources élémentaires des choses, les philosophies, les sciences naturelles, comme les religions, sont incessamment forcées de s'y placer.

Neither of these sentence types is especially rare in the Lucas treatise. While Thibaudet had no reason to be familiar with the prose style of Lucas when he pointed to Flaubert as the only likely source of such sentence patterns, the evidence presented above is no less striking.

Unexpected usage of the conjunction *et* furnishes other points of similarity in the respective prose styles of Flaubert and Zola. The *et* which we look for as the link between the last two elements in a series of words, phrases, or clauses is often omitted, but it is as often the initial word in the sentence. This "*et de mouvement general*" is an inevitable temptation toward epic style into which Flaubert fell only with the greatest reluctance.<sup>5</sup> Long before him, Félicité de Lamennais had made striking use of this epic *et* in the *Paroles d'un croyant*, but he reinforced the impression thus created by casting his sentences in the form of versicles reminiscent of the Bible.

Flaubert's use of the epic *et* is all the more striking when the sentence which it commences stands first in a paragraph.

Et, se baissant pour ramasser son aumône, il se perdit dans l'herbe, s'évanouit.

Here are combined both the unexpected use of the conjunction and

<sup>5</sup> Thibaudet, op. cit., p. 299.

its omission where we do expect it. The same technique is found in Zola.

Et, dès les premières lignes, ce fut un grand saisissement, une stupeur.

or again

Et, bien qu'elle se récriât, qu'elle se défendît, il lui rendit des comptes.

Flaubert made sparing use of the epic *et* to open the initial sentence of a paragraph; there are but eleven examples in the *Trois Contes*, and these usually are paragraphs of a single sentence. In a comparable number of pages chosen at random in Zola I found forty-three paragraphs begun in the same manner.

Another characteristic common to the styles of both Zola and Flaubert is the striking use of the long form of the adverb. Both show a marked preference for this form and both frequently draw attention to its use by placing it where it is not expected or by setting it off with commas when these are not essential. Creative writers avoid excessive use of the long form of the adverb, generally considered clumsy. Consequently the reader is jolted to find that the very last word of *Hérodiade* is such an adverb. Speaking of Iakob's head Flaubert says:

Comme elle était très lourde, ils la portaient alternativement.

In other Flaubert texts we find sentences like these:

Elle se tenait dans son lit, tranquillement.

Le ciel continuellement était bleu . . .

Les deux bassets, tout de suite, se précipitèrent sur eux; et, ça et là, vivement, leur brisaient l'échine.

In texts of Zola we find:

Aristide, le plus jeune des fils Rougon, était opposé à Eugène, géométriquement, pour ainsi dire.

Florent s'était aussi retourné, machinalement.

Indeed, a page of Zola that does not contain at least two instances of the long form of the adverb is the exception rather than the rule. In an unusual instance the adverb is not only set off, but special attention is called to it as the initial word of the paragraph:

Violamment, cette phrase le fit se relever, chancelant encore, se tenant au dossier d'une chaise.

In another case a one-sentence paragraph opens with the epic *et* followed by the adverb strikingly set off:

Et, gaiement, il se leva, il les força toutes deux à le suivre.

In expository writing, such as that of Dr. Lucas, no need is felt to avoid using the long form of the adverb, and the natural historian used it frequently.

There are indeed, then, points of similarity in the respective styles of Flaubert and Zola. In two characteristics the latter could unconsciously have imitated Dr. Lucas, the source of his notions on heredity. The bulk of evidence, however, overwhelmingly supports Thibaudet's claim that Flaubert was the model.

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## Sophie Mereau Brentano and America

After Friedrich Schlegel had helped dissuade August Wilhelm from emigrating to the United States with Caroline in 1795,<sup>1</sup> he read the novel *Das Blütenalter der Empfindung*. In a letter to his brother dated May 27, 1796 he commented that the hero and the heroine, "die beyden Blütenmenschen," leave Europe for America;<sup>2</sup> his quizzical reference was an implicit expression of satisfaction that August Wilhelm had chosen Jena rather than America as a place of future residence. The novel that Friedrich Schlegel had read was published anonymously by Justus Perthes in Gotha (1794) and republished with an introduction by Walther V. Hollander in our time (München, 1920). Its author was Sophie Mereau who married Clemens Brentano in 1803.

Sophie Mereau's first printed work was "Die Zukunft," a poem which Schiller published in the *Thalia*, III (1791). Schiller furthered Sophie, publishing her poetry in the *Horen* and in the *Musenalmannache* that he edited, and Goethe thought well of her. On the basis of correspondence, published and unpublished, and examination of

<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Schlegels Briefe an seinen Bruder August Wilhelm, ed. Oskar Walzel (Berlin, 1890), letters of May 20, 1795, June 16, 1795, and October 2, 1795.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 278-279.

her works Hollander characterized her as "ein Typus der Frau der Romantik" (pp. 2-3). Indeed she had much in common with the free-spoken women of her age. She rebelled against the conventions of bourgeois society, she cherished ideas of freedom for women, her political views were liberal and her outlook cosmopolitan. Sophie Mereau's works, among them *Das Blüthenalter der Empfindung*, reflect restlessness, occasional taedium vitae, and a yearning for foreign lands.<sup>3</sup>

*Das Blüthenalter der Empfindung* is remarkable in two respects as a novel with an American theme. Motivation for emigrating to America is an idealistic one that postdates the War of Independence, and, while the society of the United States is regarded as being comparable to that of revolutionary France, it is pictured as being more stable. German writers had, to be sure, told of emigration to the New World before, but it was for reasons of economic betterment, for reasons connected with the Revolutionary War, or because of the lure of the wholesome wilderness.<sup>4</sup> In Sophie Mereau's work emigration is an end in itself because of the sociopolitical attractiveness of the new Republic.

The chief character is a nameless Swiss whom the author describes in a manner that almost predestines him for emigration. He is a quiet rebel who chafes under conventional restrictions of society, petrified traditions, and social and religious prejudices that abuse man's natural rights and impair his natural development as a social being. The fact that "so few nations had found the secret of assuring the happiness of the individual within the whole of society" serves as an "inexhaustible source of utopian dreams" for him (p. 10).<sup>5</sup> In the course of a stay in Genoa—his father had insisted that he travel so as to preclude partiality of outlook—he spoke fleetingly with Nanette, a girl who was uncorrupted by the cant of European civilization. He fell in love with her spontaneously. After the brief and momentous conversation she disappeared without leaving a trace, however.

The author shifts the locale of the story to Paris as the Swiss learns of the revolutionary events taking place in France and reflects with sanguine expectation that his hopes for a more just and a more natural

<sup>3</sup> See particularly Sophie Mereau's "Serafine. Ein Gedicht in sechs Gesängen," *Gedichte* (Wien und Prag, 1805).

<sup>4</sup> For the best account of America in German literature see Harold Jantz, "Amerika im Deutschen Dichten und Denken," *Deutsche Philologie in Aufriss*.

<sup>5</sup> Citations in my text are from the first edition (Gotha, 1794).

society might be fulfilled in Europe. As he looked with delight at the "divine picture of a liberated, happy people" in the French capital he heard the whispered words "sacred freedom," and, upon turning his head, saw the black eyes of Nanette, "transfigured by enthusiasm and ideals of liberty" (p. 38). Nanette proved to be a confidante of the Revolutionaries, but her identity remained a mystery. She vanished once again.

The reader's credulity is taxed by a second chance meeting, for the Swiss finds Nanette in the mountains of his native land to which he had returned after being summoned by his father. He learns that her enigmatic mode of life is the result of discord among her brothers. The significance of the quarrel, in relation to the theme of emigration, lies in its gravity and that it occasions thoughts of leaving Europe. The motivation for finding a new home in America is sound, for the sociopolitical and philosophical views of Nanette are as liberal as those of the Swiss; she is a champion of religious toleration, individualism, and "natural" methods of education. Nanette "suchte nur das *auszubilden*, was sie in diesen [den Menschen] fand; *anbilden* wollte sie ihnen nichts" (p. 85). Since the "sacred torch which illuminated the fading century" (p. 131) was provided by the liberal ideas whose "seeds" (p. 37) had been planted in France and which had found realization in the United States, and since a villainous brother pursued her in Europe, they resolved to emigrate to the United States. Happy circumstances prevailed in the youthful state of North America where a free people were creating a new life and where the genius of mankind had opportunity to delight in his rights (pp. 146-147).

In novels dealing with America in the closing years of the eighteenth century Germans pictured either the wilderness and its noble natives or the Revolutionary War as an event that occasioned journeys to the New World. Jung-Stilling's *Geschichte Florentins von Fahlendorn* (1781-1783) exemplifies the first, Tieck's *William Lovell* (1795-1796), Therese Huber's *Die Familie Seldorf* (1795), and *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795-1796) the second type of novel. Jung-Stilling's Florentin regards the native Caribs as being more majestic than European princes, he finds in the New World Europeans who create utopian forms of existence by modelling their ways on the lives of the indigenous people, but he returns to Germany after a brief stay.<sup>6</sup> In

<sup>6</sup> Johann Heinrich Jung's, genannt Stilling, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Stuttgart, 1841 ff.), pp. 104-105, 160, 193.

Tieck's *William Lovell* (1795-1796) Karl Wilmont writes, resigned and weary, that he is going to America since there is probably room in the British army for someone who is surfeited with life.<sup>7</sup> *Die Familie Seldorf* (1795) by Therese Huber, widow of Georg Forster and wife of L. F. Huber, shows the American side of the Revolutionary War; the older Seldorf fights on the side of the colonists, watches the "birth of liberty" and is wounded serving in "the cause of freedom" before returning to Europe.<sup>8</sup> In *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795-1796) Lothario had fought with distinction under the flag of the United States (Book IV, Chapter 16) but returned to Europe, writing to Jarno "... hier oder nirgends ist Amerika" (Book VII, Chapter 3). The ideal content that Goethe gave to America, to the United States, is the sense in which Sophie Mereau used it when she wrote "... dort (in Amerika) freut sich der Genius der Menschheit wieder seiner Rechte" (p. 147). In her novel the two chief characters decide on emigration not because of the opportunity for combat in the War of Independence, on one side or the other, or because of the pure atmosphere in the wilderness, but because of the freedoms to be enjoyed in the liberal and stable new United States.

Walther V. Hollander was partially right when he characterized *Das Blütenalter der Empfindung*, in his introduction to the edition of 1920, as a mosaic of intellectual currents at the end of the eighteenth century: Richardson, Klopstock, Rousseau, bucolic poetry, the pathos of Schiller, the ideas of the Enlightenment, and "Amerikasehnsucht" (pp. 7-8). By 1794 "Amerikasehnsucht" had assumed a variety of forms. For those in personal distress it was, in a general way, an Eldorado as described by Goethe in the nineteenth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*; as an escape from European civilization, as an area that offered economic betterment, and as an unspoiled wilderness it exerted attraction but competed with other regions of the world. The War of Independence provided diverse motives for journeys to America, some ideal, some rooted in personal despair or in mere adventurousness. Emigration as an end in itself, however, because a more perfect society was being established, was starting to appear in German literature only at this time. Sophie Mereau Brentano's *Das Blütenalter der Empfindung* is one of the earliest novels culminating in the decision of the chief characters that the United

<sup>7</sup> Ludwig Tieck, *Schriften* (Berlin, 1828-1846), VII, 334.

<sup>8</sup> Therese Huber, *Erzählungen* (Leipzig, 1831), III, 13 ff.



States of America offered a propitious soil for the peaceful pursuits of free and sovereign individuals.

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HAROLD VON HOFE

## REVIEWS

**Sanford B. Meech, *Design in Chaucer's "Troilus"* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1959. xii + 529 pp. \$10.00).** THIS book is a learned, well-organized and extremely detailed comparison of *Troilus and Criseyde* with its source. It is divided into four long chapters, the first of which is devoted to a close comparison of the sequence of the narrative in *Troilus* and the *Filostrato*; the second to the modifications of the source in matters such as age, person, dress, love, time, place and other such general categories; the third to the modifications of the imagery of the original; and the fourth to changes in the characters including that of the narrator.

Although there are some welcome generalizing passages (as on pp. 99 ff., 181 ff., 319, 397 and 404 and in the introduction and conclusion), Professor Meech employs for the most part a method of extremely close comparison of hundreds of details and many categories. However his scholastic sense of systematic argument always keeps us informed of the structure of his book.

The study is, in spite of its clear organization, hard to read because of the piling up of detail, a difficulty compounded by a style which is often awkward or turgid and a predilection for unusual phraseology and vocabulary (e. g. minify, toll [in the sense of deceive], gestalt, conceiting, thereof, congeed, Trojaninity, ideality, videlicet, aporia, sans, and so forth). The book is also not written for a reader ignorant of Italian, for only a few of the numerous quotations from that language are translated.

At times the author makes some extremely cogent remarks of an esthetic or historical nature as on the internal parallels in *Troilus*, on the character of Diomedes, on the sense of destiny in the poem, on the probability that the *Filocolo* was used as a direct source for Chaucer, and others. Yet in spite of its title, we get very little sense

of the design of Chaucer's great poem, and we are continually being bogged down in masses of detail the relevance of which is not very clear. We arise from the book with the mental equivalent of eyestrain, for through five hundred pages we have been forced to look at *Troilus* from a very special angle without ever being able to refocus our eyes on a more distant view. To put the dissatisfaction in scholastic terms: all is explained in terms of the material cause of *Troilus*; nothing in terms of its final cause.

A close and extensive analysis of any sort, whether of the poem itself or of the source of the poem, is of dubious value in works of the length of *Troilus*. The brilliant achievements attained in our time by close analysis of lyric poetry cannot be paralleled when studying very long poems or dramas. A change in length of such magnitude as that between say Keats' *Ode on a Grecian Urn* and *Troilus* creates, without even taking genre or aims into consideration, a qualitative change in the work which makes the same method of analysis of dubious value for both. In minute analysis, we lose our sense of the unity and structure of the long poem. The whole context of the literary effect and feel is too different to benefit by close extended textual analysis, although it may do for portions of the poem.

However the fundamental weakness of the books lies in Professor Meech's conception of the methods and value of source study. It is a commonplace of modern literary historical scholarship that a knowledge of the source (or reconstructed source) of a work of art is valuable inasmuch as it enables a reader to understand the intentions of the author. By seeing what he did with his material, what he stressed, minimized, and eliminated, the reader can better comprehend his artistic purpose. This line has been strongly urged in the past twenty-five years against some of the excesses of the "New Criticism." Historical scholars, it is admitted, must give up *Quellenforschung* as practised in the hey-day of positivism when every scrap of source or possible source material was treasured for its own sake, in order that they may intelligently probe, by source analysis, into the esthetic properties of a work of art.

But, unless we start from some theory as to what a work of art is all about, that is, what is the esthetic aim of the artist, all source investigation is a hit-or-miss affair. A review is no place to discuss this principle thoroughly, but we may say that if we are ever to get out of the philological circle of using the source to determine the aim of the work and using the aim to determine the analysis of the source,

we must break out at the latter point. We cannot determine the purpose of the artist purely by an examination of his source because 1) the same element in a source can be used by different writers or even the same writer for different kinds of effects: the artist's goal determines the meaning of the borrowing; and 2) all changes made in a source are not necessarily made for esthetic purposes. We can strengthen our case for a particular interpretation of a work of art by reference to a source, but we cannot thus primarily establish it.

Without the guiding force of an interpretation of the work to be studied, there is no satisfactory method of setting up the proper categories for investigating the source and of distinguishing esthetic from other changes between the two works to be compared. Changes *per se* have no meaning. Professor Meech stresses the greater realistic detail, the greater emphasis on destiny, the sharpening of characters in *Troilus* over its sources, all of which differences he thinks prove Chaucer's greater artistry. But by themselves, that is, without any comprehension of Chaucer's and Boccaccio's aims in their respective romances, these differences prove nothing and may even be insignificant.

As an instance of a change which may have no direct esthetic effect we may take the point Meech stresses that in *Troilus* there is much more feudal imagery than there is in the *Filostrato*. This may merely be due to the respective audiences of the poems or to the fact that feudalism meant little in fourteenth century Italy and a great deal in fourteenth century England. In other words, this point may be irrelevant to the fundamental esthetic aims of Chaucer. The stress on this kind of imagery may help of course to give an esthetic density to *Troilus*, but its absence or slightness in the original does not enable us to determine Chaucer's aims in making the change. He might have had much feudal imagery regardless of the source.

It must be admitted that Professor Meech has analyzed his two poems from many aspects and that some of his categories are certain to be of value in any interpretation of the poem. A study of the change in characterization, for instance, is pretty certain to be so. On the other hand numerous comparisons seem to lead nowhere, because we do not have any place to get to. Whether Boccaccio refers to the gods 95 times as compared to 145 times in Chaucer, to take a typical but not exact example of much of Meech's work, can mean nothing whatsoever by itself, unless we have some theory as to why Chaucer uses so many more of these allusions than the Italian writer. If we can account for the change, then we can welcome the statistics

in giving factual support for our case. Otherwise we feel we are listing meaningless facts. Source study cannot be done mechanically.

Meech does attempt to give a statement of his interpretation of the poem, but it is of such a general nature that it is not of much help. In any case, he does not use it as his main methodological control as he should. The interpretation is the goal, not the starting point of his investigations. If he desired to write lists of changes, it would have been much better to have cut the length of the text in half or more and given tables at the end for the benefit of those who needed references.

A few minor points may be raised. Professor Meech uses the phrase "in propria persona" to refer to the narrator (not the author Chaucer) throughout, a misleading usage. There is much subjective interpretation of Chaucer's motives in the book as to why certain changes were made (e. g., pp. 125 and 196). Meech assumes that realism is *per se* a good thing; he does not regard realism as another literary mode but as life itself. On pp. 245-46 he sets up distinctions between various types of metaphoric language but in his discussion of imagery makes very little use of these classifications. He gives every little detail a natural explanation. Every change really cannot be significant *per se*.

On the other hand, Meech's summaries of scholarship on the poem (up to 1956) are excellent; the author has missed little if anything written on *Troilus*. At times Professor Meech sheds vivid illumination on parts of the poem in happy and satisfying passages which only make one wish that he had organized his whole book differently. To do source work on the poem or to find support for certain interpretations of the poem this book will be of some use, although one must still check the original for serious study, but unfortunately certain weaknesses of methodology will keep it from ranking as an original or exciting contribution to the elucidation of the design of *Troilus and Criseyde*.

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MORTON W. BLOOMFIELD

Lily B. Campbell, *Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1959. viii + 268 pp. \$5.00). THE religious literature of sixteenth-century England remains largely unexplored, but in Miss Campbell's latest book we

have a usable map for one part of it. She is concerned not with "religious" literature at large—as her title might suggest to the unwary—but with that part of it which she, following Sidney, calls "divine"; with poetry or drama which takes as its subject matter the incidents, parables, characters of the Bible. Since much of this material is infrequently read and since part of it is not easily accessible, her literary history is helpful to those interested in the English background for Donne, Herbert and Milton. The book divides into two equal sections. The first includes chapters on translations from the Psalms, translations from other books of the Bible, Dubartas in England, "divine erotic epyllia," and holy sonnets. In the second part, Miss Campbell takes up the continental background for divine drama, divine drama in the schools and universities (primarily Latin), and non-academic plays both English and Latin. There is useful information throughout. Chapter XIV, for example, discusses the growing popularity of the sonnet in Elizabethan times and then considers Henry Lok, Henry Constable, and Barnabe Barnes; the biographical facts are summarized, publication dates for various works are given, and the subject matter of these works is indicated.

There are a number of difficulties in writing a book of this kind, not all of which have been overcome. First, Miss Campbell frequently forgets what audience would be most interested in her work; a reader willing to follow her pages (110-112) on Richard Robinson's *Reward of Wickedness* (an imitation *Mirror for Magistrates*) is not likely to need a summary of Sackville's "Induction" (pp. 108-110) to start him on his way. Second, she sometimes falls a victim of the desire to magnify the intrinsic importance of one's subject: "The very list of these English writers is impressive. Grimald, Watson, Christopherson, Foxe, and Udall . . ." (p. 191). Her critical premise that poetry is to be interpreted biographically (see, e. g., pp. 39-40 on Surrey) will not meet with universal favor. Nor will her implicit judgment on the state of religion in the middle ages; before the sixteenth century, she says, "the Bible itself had become almost lost in the multitude of interpretations, in the intellectual tangles of theological logic, in the rivalries of dispute over dogma" (p. 9).

More serious criticism must be directed against the two theses which the literary history attempts to support. Miss Campbell argues that English divine poetry is the result of a new movement in letters: disturbed by the growing popularity of secular song, sixteenth century moralists were compelled to fight back with more wholesome stuff,

and for their measures to be effective, they had to adopt the vernacular; they wanted to bring the Bible home to English ears. That divine poetry was in some cases a conscious rival to secular verse is conclusively proved by the quotations which are produced, yet one wonders if other factors were not also at work. In an age when men better suited to prose or silence nevertheless published verse, it would be surprising if some of that verse were not Biblical in inspiration. And that it should have been in English surely reflects the forces at work when Dante chose Italian as much as it does those forces which Miss Campbell describes. In the second part of the book, Miss Campbell argues that divine drama was also a quite new thing, again stemming from an effort to replace its secular counterpart with Biblical material. Quotations to prove this thesis are harder to come by than in the poetry, and Miss Campbell relies primarily on assertion. Here too one is willing to grant her point and yet wonder that she finds no room either for late moralities and mysteries or for renaissance Terences of a religious turn of mind. Both theses are, I think, little more than strings upon which the literary history hangs, and they can be cut without damage to the more valuable parts of the book. Yet one wishes that Miss Campbell had done the cutting herself; her book would thereby have been a better one than the useful work which it nevertheless remains.

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A. B. CHAMBERS

**Kathleen Williams, *Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise* (Lawrence, Kansas: Univ. of Kansas Press, 1958. 238 pp. \$5.00).**

THE first time I read *A Modest Proposal* aloud to a freshman class a girl vomited on the floor. The spectacular violence of her reaction was a perfect counterpart to the violence of the attack on her sensibilities. Swift's essay is a fantasia of the extreme. What an astonishing paradox it is that our most extreme satirist should have used his violence in the service of moderation; that he should have been bound programatically to the middle way.

Kathleen Williams' fine new book *Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise* understates the violence but charts in clear and convincing detail the topography of the winding way Swift took between the beguiling extremes of the Age of Enlightenment. We have always



known something of the Swiftian compromise in political, religious, and moral affairs; but we have not before been able to see so clearly the systematic character of the compromise: the calculated resistance to the pressures of the extremes, the desperate adjustments made to avoid them. By the end of the Renaissance the middle way had become heroic, if for no other reason than that it disdained the over-simplifications of the extremes, primarily the materialism of Hobbes and Mandeville, the optimism and the pride of reason of Bolingbroke and Shaftesbury. Swift refused to simplify, holding instead to the old idea of the complexity of man, steering between the fixed positions, taking from each what he needed to maintain his precarious balance. He was proudly eclectic, ready always to ignore theoretical consistency in favor of a tactical gain, for Swift was at war. He was leading the rearguard action Professor Wimsatt has spoken of—the action waged by Augustan satirists to cover the retreat of Renaissance humanism before the march of the modern world.

The first half of this book sets out the terms of Swift's militant compromise. Miss Williams accomplishes this with exemplary skill; she is in thorough command of her wide-ranging materials, she presents complex issues with clarity and grace—her thesis is convincing.

The second half of the book contains detailed analyses of the major satires from the point of view given by the early chapters. It is as though Miss Williams had decided to meet head-on the powerful thesis of Dr. Leavis that Swift's satire destroys everything it touches, even the values the satire is purportedly written to serve. Before Swift's onslaught, says Leavis, "the positives disappear." Miss Williams writes: "Nothing could be further from the truth than to see Swift as a destructive and negative satirist; his purpose in destroying false and unrealistic simplifications is to show us the only conditions upon which life can be fully and creatively lived." The positives of the satires are those of Swift's life: the middle way, the vital compromise which alone can create a precarious and proximate order out of the flux of giddy circumstance. For example, in the *Madness* section of *A Tale of a Tub* the tale-teller presents two possible standards: happiness founded on appearance and delusion or wisdom in whose service reason cuts and pierces and mangles and flays. Swift manipulates the positions so that they destroy each other: to choose one is to be a fool, the other a knave. If one asks with Leavis, What is left? Miss Williams answers: compromise, limitation, the "common Forms," human centrality and good sense—all that the giddy tale-teller has

omitted in his survey of human possibility. And there is Martin: "Behind the mad philosophers and enthusiasts, behind the Author and his flayed and dissected corpses, stands Martin, the one sane man of the *Tale*, who has attained his limited completeness through compromise and acceptance of the traditional values of Christian morality."

*Gulliver's Travels* is built on a similar scheme. On his fourth voyage Gulliver is trapped between two of the most brilliantly imaged extremes in literature: between Houyhnhnm and Yahoo, the "Perfection of Nature" over against the most loathsome of brutes. For Miss Williams the Houyhnhnms represent "the dream of the Deist and the rationalist"; they are embodiments of pure reason who live a life of virtue without religion, of rationality without passion. Because the Deists characteristically believed reason a sufficient guide to truth, Miss Williams equates the horses with them. The Yahoos are the animal passions of man without the control of reason: "the body of this death." Gulliver, accepting the unnatural dichotomy of Houyhnhnm-land, rejects humanity and tries to become a horse, thus incapacitating himself for recognizing human good in the persons of Don Pedro, the Portuguese sailors, and his own family. In short, Gulliver (like Jack and Peter of the *Tale*) runs mad, the most completely self-deceived of all Swift's characters, says Miss Williams. The extremes of Part IV in effect destroy each other: "The Yahoos show why man could never be a Houyhnhnm, why the Stoic or the Deist solution to the human problem must always be a failure." But if Houyhnhnm reason is unavailable as a satirical positive, other positives remain: the benevolent Don Pedro de Mendez at the end, and earlier the Brobdingnagians, who though by no means perfect, represent the limited good attainable by man.

The reading of the *Travels* summarized here is conducted with poise and sensitivity, and a great deal of it I find unexceptionable; but some of Miss Williams' commitments raise difficulties. Swift scholars will recognize that she has joined Mr. Ehrenpreis on dangerous ground in equating Houyhnhnms with Deists and they may want to look at Professor Sherburn's recent article attacking the position. I shall not go into that issue beyond saying that we err in thinking of the Houyhnhnms as passionless creatures.

I have two major reservations about the treatment of Swift's positives here. First, in searching for the truth of *Gulliver's Travels* Miss Williams finds it necessary to go beyond the standards represented by Don Pedro and the Brobdingnagians: "As in *A Tale of a*

*Tub*, the truth lies in what the ostensible author [i.e., Gulliver] leaves out, in the compromise which includes all partial truths. . . . That compromise, we are told, is Christianity. "As Pascal believed, and as Swift demonstrates in the story of Gulliver, any one-sided account of the nature of man, any scheme that denies the paradoxical reality in favor of simplicity, will lead to disastrous practical results, to pride or despair or cynicism; and in its view of humanity Christianity approximates to a middle way between contemporary 'wide Extremes.' . . ." One may agree with the elements on both sides of the semi-colon in that sentence, yet find no necessary relation between them. Christianity is not mentioned in the *Travels*, as Miss Williams admits; she finds it there by implication. But surely it is a dangerous critical practise to found the truth of a work of art on negative implication, on what is left out. I cannot believe it justified here.

My second objection is this: Miss Williams is thoroughly convincing on Swift's programmatic attachment to the middle way and on the presence of the positives in the satires. But by emphasizing Swift's compromise, his tolerance, etc., do we not violate our experience of the works themselves? True, there *are* Martin and Don Pedro; but they are small fixed points in the holocaust that rages around them. Swift's greatness is in the holocaust; hence its problematic character. Swift's strength, said Empson in a very wise comment, made his satiric instrument too strong for him.

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ROBERT C. ELLIOTT

J. Hillis Miller, *Charles Dickens, the World of His Novels* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958. xvi + 346 pp. \$6.00).

THIS is an original contribution to the criticism of Dickens' novels and one not unlikely to affect subsequent work in the same kind of way as Professor Wilson Knight's Shakespeare criticism. By a somewhat similar method, though it is applied more laboriously and on the whole with less power and lucidity, Mr. Miller has disclosed and defined certain elements in selected works of his author; some that readers may have seen before, but not with that significance; certain others that they had not seen at all, but now realise to be there; and others again that evoke a protesting "But —!" Such provocation is probably inevitable with any deliberately limited approach.

That it is limited, Mr. Miller proclaims clearly and with modesty at the outset, but recalls infrequently thereafter. His aim is "the exploration of the imaginative universe of Dickens, and the revelation of that presiding unity hidden at the center"—and it may be granted at once that this is one of the nobler critical aims and that the revelation does occur—in flashes. He regards that universe as "an infinite domain" and admits (with even excessive generosity) that "an infinite number of critical paths might traverse it profitably"; but "the view from certain roads is more complete and less distorted," and his chosen road is "the theme of the search for a true and viable identity."

Reading this, and later references to the procedure of nominalism, non-Euclidean space, the spatial continuum, and the Leibnitzian monads, some Dickensians might decide to abandon the book to the Mrs. Jefferson Bricks and Squeerses of today. But perseverance will be rewarding. Though "philosophy's the chap" for him, Mr. Miller does not refuse to answer questions on other lines, and it is the great merit of his book that he so often finds answers both new and true to the very questions that devoted if unphilosophical readers of Dickens have constantly asked. Especially valuable is his justification of certain sequences of events or groups of characters by revealing their relation to a "presiding unity." He sees the relevance and purpose of the American chapters of *Martin Chuzzlewit*, the world of Mrs. Jefferson Brick herself:

Dickens' America is an entire society which lives as pure surface, a surface which hides a profound void. Dickens acutely saw that America, the country where all conventions and traditions had been destroyed for the sake of the free development of the individual, could for that very reason become, and was indeed becoming, a country where authentic individuality was impossible (p. 130). . . . The use of debased language and the measurement of everything by money operate together to deprive the Americans of individuality. . . . If the minds of these ladies could be changed without discovery [*sic*], it is really because they have no separate minds at all, but only a kind of mechanism of clichés (p. 133).

He emphasizes the "double vision" achieved through Esther's narrative in *Bleak House*; he makes the first convincing defence of the revised ending of *Great Expectations*. Often, particularly in the later novels, but sometimes also in *Oliver Twist*, he succeeds in exposing the hidden springs of a strong but undefined total impression: for example, in what he says of the use of the historical present tense in *Bleak House*, the obsession with death in *Our Mutual Friend*, and

"the dominant state [of] *boredom*" in many of its characters. He is obviously right too in emphasizing, and elaborating, Dickens' position as "one of the first great novelists to define the peculiar conditions of urban life" (the inclusion of *Sketches by Boz* would have helped him further); and in seeing as a habit of Dickens, what others have noted in single novels, "the use of houses to symbolize states of soul."

The problem of selecting six novels for detailed treatment and of selecting appropriate aspects of the other novels which occupy intervening chapters must have been troublesome. The choice of novels works out well, though it is fairly obvious that Mr. Miller would have preferred eight to six, with more room to develop his ideas on *David Copperfield* and *Little Dorrit*. The second problem is not satisfactorily solved for the early novels; *Nicholas Nickleby* and *Barnaby Rudge*, one suspects, are treated briefly because they have been less fully and carefully investigated. It is surprising that Mr. Miller should miss Dickens' concern, in *Nicholas Nickleby*, with society and social distinctions; and it is superficial to place Ralph Nickleby in a list of "paste-board copies of melodramatic type-characters." There are isolated blind spots elsewhere, even in the best of the detailed studies, the chapter on *Great Expectations*; although the moral content of this novel is here disengaged with more precision and sense of its complexity than ever before, Wemmick is seen merely as "a comic parody of Pip's attempt to transcend his first situation," which is surely to overlook the effect of his "Walworth sentiments."

Mr. Miller's view of the novels from *Martin Chuzzlewit* on is certainly "more complete and less distorted"; perhaps because Dickens' own sense of the "search for identity" as a theme developed only there. But the whole notion of a steadily advancing exploration from novel to novel is questionable; and Mr. Miller's critical method makes him inconsistent here; as Professor Monod has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> it hardly permits him to recognize progression *within* a single novel, although writing and publication might be spread over two years. (He does note the change of focus and of tone in *Pickwick Papers*; but without relating it to the many months of "overlap" between this novel and *Oliver Twist*.)

I have noted a very few wrong references; and in the "Note on References" (p. xii) we are told that, with chapter numbers provided, "the reader may use whatever edition of Dickens he wishes," whereas

<sup>1</sup> *NCF*, XIII, No. 4 (March 1959), 362. Review of *Charles Dickens: The World of his Novels*.

in fact he will go astray if he uses very early editions of *Pickwick Papers* and *Oliver Twist* or reprints of these. There is no "Charles Dickens edition of 1856" (p. 67); 1867 must be meant. It is misleading to say that *Great Expectations* was actually "planned as a monthly serial of twenty numbers" (p. 250). The long note on p. 177 is inadequate without reference to the evidence of the number-plans and of numerous letters and prefaces. Indeed, prefaces are nowhere helpfully used, except for the important 1841 preface to *Oliver Twist*; the omissions from the 1837 preface of *Pickwick Papers* (pp. 22-23) give an oversimplified version of Dickens' intentions in that novel. But Mr. Miller's whole view of Dickens' intentions is uncertain, or inconsistent.

In short, Mr. Miller's critical method and conclusions are vulnerable at several points; but his book is courageous and perceptive, and much of it will open the eyes both of disparagers and of admirers of Dickens—not only with surprise, but with a real sense of illumination. It is certainly a book that no student of the novels can afford to neglect.

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Barbara Hardy, *The Novels of George Eliot. A Study in Form* (London: The Athlone Press; Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books, 1959. xii + 242 pp. \$4.00). Placide-Gustave Maheu, *La Pensée religieuse et morale de George Eliot; essai d'interprétation* (Paris: Marcel Didier, 1959. 140 pp). Reva Stump, *Movement and Vision in George Eliot's Novels* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1959. xi + 232 pp. \$4.50). Jerome Thale, *The Novels of George Eliot* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1959. 175 pp. \$3.75). OF these four new books on George Eliot, two—Miss Stump's and Mrs. Hardy's—are of unquestionable value for serious students of the novels.

According to Miss Stump all of Eliot's novels are structured upon two movements: there is "the movement toward a realistic and relatively comprehensive vision of the moral life and the movement away from such vision toward the darkness of moral insensibility and incapability" (p. 8). Not only action and theme, but also imagery reveals Eliot's concern with "vision": Miss Stump analyzes in detail "the emphasis on eyes, on different kinds of sight, and on what is



perceived," the complex set of images involving light and darkness, the imagery "of concealment, distortion, restriction, movement, space," and the emphasis on the disparity between appearance and reality (p. 6). In her detailed studies of *Adam Bede*, *The Mill on the Floss*, and *Middlemarch*, Miss Stump, though she gives most of her attention to unfolding the patterns of imagery, is concerned with seeing "how imagery, theme, and dramatic action work together to produce the movements" towards and away from moral vision (p. 7).

In *Adam Bede* the movement away from vision is present in the Arthur-Hetty story, while the novel's "central, unifying action is Adam's slow and painful" learning of the art of vision (p. 37). The real climax of the book is not Hetty's confession or the last-minute rescue but "Adam's fully felt acceptance of weak and erring humanity" on the morning of Hetty's trial (p. 50). Miss Stump's analysis of the religious symbolism employed in this scene is excellent, as is her discussion of the development which Dinah undergoes in her relation with Adam. When Dinah and Adam begin courting "images of sunlight, fertility, and space" are used "in contrast to those of darkness, sterility, and narrowness with which—in conjunction with the Christian symbolism—Dinah has been associated" (p. 63). The approach through imagery gives us a new understanding of Eliot's attitude towards Dinah. Miss Stump is right, I think, in holding that the marriage of Adam and Dinah "is the final necessary step in the process of realizing their potentiality" (p. 64); and I am inclined also to agree with her observation that the weakness of the book is that "readers are not made to feel unquestionably that Dinah has even been lacking . . . and that her union with Adam actually adds to her stature" (p. 65).

In *The Mill on the Floss* the positive movement is embodied in Maggie's moral development, and the negative movement is present not so much in individuals as in the whole society of St. Ogg's. In *Middlemarch* the positive movement takes place in Dorothea, while the movement away from vision is present in the many egoists who populate this novel. Miss Stump's contention that these novels contain movements towards and away from moral vision and that these movements are artistically rendered through imagery is demonstrated conclusively by her close working with Eliot's text. Her treatment of imagery is on the whole skilfull and convincing, even though there are occasional tendencies towards over-interpretation and a too lavish use of italics.

Miss Stump's weakness lies in the inadequacy of her grasp of the moral phenomena with which she deals. When tracing the moral development of such characters as Adam, Maggie, and Dorothea, Miss Stump sees the broad outlines clearly enough; but she tends to oversimplify the process she is describing. Her analysis is not sufficiently explicit; she seems not to comprehend fully the moral issues involved and the psychology of moral dissolution and evolution as Eliot presents it. Miss Stump holds that the concept of vision is the key to the understanding of Eliot's works, and she presents the imagery connected with vision successfully and at great length; but she does not give us a full and clear analysis of what vision is. She defines moral vision "as the deeply felt perception of the human condition, a perception so deeply felt that it must profoundly influence what one is in relation to his fellow human beings" (p. 7). This is not inaccurate, but it needs elaboration; and though there are scattered hints as to what moral vision and its absence involve, there is no thorough examination of the epistemological basis and the psychological dynamics of these very complex phenomena. George Eliot's novels unquestionably are concerned with moral development and with ways of viewing the world; Miss Stump has pointed to something very important in Eliot, but she has only begun the exploration of it.

One wonders, moreover, whether the concept of vision is in fact the key to a complete understanding of Eliot. Is Daniel Deronda's problem a lack of vision either in himself or in others? Is *The Spanish Gypsy* about vision? Is Silas Marner's alienation from and reintegration into society best understood in terms of moral vision? Can Romola's relation with Savonarola be explained solely in terms of vision? Are there not things other and perhaps more important than vision at work in Maggie Tulliver's moral crisis? The concept of vision certainly gives rise to a great deal of Eliot's imagery, but considered in relation to her total moral theory is it not a significant part of an elaborate constellation of social and psychic phenomena rather than the "key" to her thought and art? Considered from the point of view of Eliot's psychology, for example, vision operates in close conjunction with experience and sympathy, concepts which do not lend themselves as readily to imagistic rendering. A character's ability to envision the interior states of others and the network of causal relations in which he exists is dependent, for Eliot, upon the strength of his intelligence and, above all, upon the depth and extensiveness of his experience. Experience, especially experience of

suffering, enlarges moral vision, and vision gives rise to sympathy. Miss Stump indicates occasionally that she has some awareness of these connections; but, because of the limiting effect of her approach through imagery, she tends to absorb everything else into the concept of vision, and hence to distort Eliot's presentation of moral experience.

Even with these limitations, Miss Stump's book is quite valuable. Its chief value lies, however, not in the picture it presents of Eliot's moral world (which is perceptive as far as it goes), but in its illuminating study of the artistic use which Eliot made of imagery. In her discussion of *The Mill on the Floss* Miss Stump shows how the abundant animal imagery and "the garden or paradisiac imagery" (p. 113) are related to theme and action, and Maggie's moral development is traced through Eliot's use of imagery of drifting and of vision. Especially excellent is Miss Stump's analysis of the use of web and movement imagery in *Middlemarch*. Her examination of the imagery used to portray egoism and the vision imagery employed in depicting Dorothea's moral development is also quite valuable. Miss Stump's study of imagery is everywhere full of intelligence and insight, and hers is an image study of the most meaningful sort, in which imagery is steadily related to character, theme, and structure. Her book will give much weight to the arguments of the growing body of critics who would have us regard George Eliot as a highly skilful and conscious literary artist.

Especially prominent among these critics is Barbara Hardy, whose excellent articles on Eliot's imagery are familiar to all students of the novelist. In her present work, which incorporates two of these articles, Mrs. Hardy's explicit object is to show that George Eliot is a great formal artist. "George Eliot's composition," Mrs. Hardy argues, "is usually as complex and as subtle as the composition of Henry James or Proust or Joyce, but it is very much less conspicuous because of the engrossing realistic interest of her human and social delineation" (p. 5). In many twentieth century novels, Mrs. Hardy points out, the formal subtlety is conspicuous because it is "part of an unrealistic delineation" in which "formal contrasts and parallels" are fundamental in the relations of characters rather than "the human process" (p. 4). Eliot, on the other hand, leaves one with the impression that "this is as close as the novelist can get to human multiplicity—that here form has been given to fluidity and expansiveness. We can trace the form as we can trace a diagram, but the form is always there in the interest of the human picture" (p. 238). "The

intensive patterning of all the units" in Eliot's novels is not "the product of an abstract though delightful interest in pattern *qua* pattern"; it is "rather the product of a particular kind of generalizing and qualifying vision of the human lot" (p. 10).

It is Eliot's vision of the human lot, Mrs. Hardy feels, that makes her formal subtlety so interesting, for "it finds an expression for themes which are close to the themes of novelists and poets of our time" (p. 233). Beneath all the appearance of remoteness "lies the questioning and the sympathy of a humanism which speaks warmly and directly to this century and even to this decade" (p. 233). But Mrs. Hardy does not do much to illuminate the quality of Eliot's humanism, for she is concerned more with Eliot's formal devices than with her thought, more with the diagram than with the human picture. What she says about Eliot's moral philosophy is frequently perceptive; but her work, like Miss Stump's, is chiefly valuable for its sensitive analysis of Eliot's artistry.

Chapters I, IX, and XI strike me as clearly the best things in the book, though the Conclusion and, especially, the Introduction are also very good. To her well-known account of the moment of disenchantment in Eliot's novels in Chapter IX, Mrs. Hardy has added a discussion of "the static domestic scene . . . that George Eliot uses to solidify and stabilize her novels" (p. 185). The absence of such scenes from *Romola* is, says Mrs. Hardy, a major reason for that novel's failure. In Chapter XI there is the analysis of Eliot's use of running images, for the purposes of irony, in *Middlemarch* and *Daniel Deronda*.

In Chapter I Mrs. Hardy points out that Eliot's realistic treatment of unheroic characters in her early works raised the problem of intensity: "If the human material is a copy of monotonous or inarticulate suffering, how is it to be used in fiction?" (p. 15). Eliot achieves the emotional intensity which will arouse the pity of her readers chiefly through her own direct commentary on the action: "It might be said that George Eliot makes us see a tragedy which is too big for her characters. The claim for sympathy is not made directly by tragic response but has to be made on behalf of the very absence of tragic response" (p. 25). The author's "special plea for her characters" (p. 201) is also made through the use of pathetic imagery (Ch. X). In the later works the inarticulate character gives way as protagonist to the hero and heroine highly endowed with sensibility and intelligence, and the need for the author's special plea radically

diminishes. Mrs. Hardy observes that "George Eliot moved from the ordinary man struggling with tragedy to the extraordinary man and woman struggling with ordinary life" (p. 29).

The other chapters contain many good insights, but they are very uneven in quality, the weakest being, I think, Chapters III, IV, and VII. Mrs. Hardy's style is often awkward or obscure, and her organization sometimes strikes one as rather incoherent and disjointed. Her treatment of Eliot's themes frequently lacks precision and explicitness. In Chapter III, for example, much is made of the problems of "sensibility" and "affection," but there is no explanation of what these terms are intended to mean. Mrs. Hardy's analysis of the tragic process in *Adam Bede* (Ch. II) has many of the virtues, weaknesses, and insights of Miss Stump's treatment of that novel, though Miss Stump's account is far more thorough. Her discussion of the tragic process in the heroines and in the egoists (Chs. III and IV) is often perceptive, but in general it is a disappointing treatment of a very rich and important subject.

In the chapters devoted to "Character and Form" and "Plot and Form" Mrs. Hardy shows that Eliot "used the multiple plot with economy and mounting tension, not as a 'loose baggy monster'" (p. 89) by analyzing Eliot's constant use of parallelism, antithesis, and repetition in characters, scenes, events, and themes. The problem here is that in this kind of formal analysis the human picture is sacrificed in the interest of form; the moral substance, the human transaction are reduced to a diagram. Mrs. Hardy set out to show that despite her rich realism, George Eliot, too, is full of structural relations of characters, deliberate and obvious patterning of episodes, and flows of related images; and she has done this, but often at the expense of that picture of human relations which is George Eliot's greatest strength. Perhaps it is inevitable that a study of formal techniques should be weak in human interest.

Jerome Thale's *The Novels of George Eliot* consists of a series of brief, fluently written interpretations of the novels, with an introduction and a conclusion which make some generalizations about Eliot's characteristic themes and techniques. Unfortunately, Mr. Thale's book, for all its grace, is insubstantial. Like Miss Stump, Mr. Thale makes little effort to see the novels in relation to the important body of Eliot material outside the novels, but he does not compensate for this, as she does, by close reading of the text. His analyses of the novels are not closely reasoned, nor are they adequately



supported by detail and quotation. But these things would not much matter if what Mr. Thale says about George Eliot struck us immediately as just and penetrating.

Sometimes this happens—with scattered generalizations about Eliot's art and thought and, especially, with the essay on *Silas Marner*. The discussion of Silas's experiences of alienation and regeneration in terms of Eliot's "reduction of theology to psychology" and the analysis of the way in which Silas's optimistic and Godfrey's pessimistic stories qualify each other thematically are excellent.

But for the most part my response is to quarrel with Mr. Thale's interpretations. *Adam Bede* does not strike me as being primarily a story about three characters who "are trying to discover what kinds of standards [of conduct] are valid and relevant to them" (p. 20). Mr. Thale treats Adam as a static character. It seems to me wrong to say that Maggie's story is about whether she will choose to grow up as a Dodson or a Tulliver. According to Mr. Thale, Maggie's renunciation of Stephen means that she, "like the Dodsons," has "rejected love and poetry"; it is "an escape from . . . the burden of adulthood" (p. 52). Mr. Thale's analysis of what is wrong with *Romola* is vitiated by his inadequate understanding of the novel, especially of the role which the Florentine setting plays in *Romola*'s development. Mr. Thale feels that with *Romola* George Eliot began her effort to make her fiction serious, complex, and morally weighty; he oversimplifies the earlier novels and then calls them simple. There is an interesting discussion of the role of politics in *Felix Holt*, but Mr. Thale fails to understand the nature of Esther's moral evolution and Felix's role in it. The essays on *Middlemarch* and *Daniel Deronda* are less unsatisfactory, though Mr. Thale's understanding of Gwendolen's psychology is rather limited and his estimate of the relation between Gwendolen and Deronda is, I think, quite mistaken. Mr. Thale frequently displays intelligence and erudition; but he just seems not to understand George Eliot's novels very well.

*La Pensée religieuse et morale de George Eliot* by Placide-Gustave Maheu presents the thesis that the key to Eliot's moral philosophy is Daniel Defoe's *The History of the Devil*, which deeply impressed her as a child, and which maintained its ascendancy (*emprise*), despite other and opposite influences, in her mature thought. The body of Brother Maheu's book is devoted to proving this thesis by the establishment of a series of parallels between the religious and moral thought of George Eliot and that contained in *The History of the*



*Devil*. All I can say is that Brother Maheu's effort is totally misguided and unsuccessful. Defoe and Eliot are poles apart, and the fact that Brother Maheu believes that he has brought them together indicates a weakness in his grasp of the empirical methods of modern scholarship. In his book we enter a world in which reality fades away before an array of dazzling, pointed, and absurd analogies. The work would be somewhat redeemed and perhaps would have some value if Brother Maheu at least presented an accurate account of Eliot's thought; but he cannot be accused of making Defoe conform to Eliot since Eliot is completely unrecognizable in his account. Nor has he made Eliot conform to Defoe; for his account of *The History of the Devil* is highly interpretive, and bears little resemblance to what the eight year old Mary Ann Evans could have found in Defoe. I am at a loss to say how Brother Maheu could have arrived at his conclusions.

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John Charles Nelson, *Renaissance Theory of Love* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1958. 280 pp.). THE principal aim of this book is to study Giordano Bruno's Italian dialogue *De gli eroici furori* in relation to the speculation on love as it is found in the traditions of (1) prose commentaries on poetry and (2) Renaissance Platonic Love treatises, "to both of which categories the *Eroici Furori* belongs" (p. 3). In Chapter I ("Prose Commentaries on Verses"), Nelson goes over well-trod ground in considering the concept of love as it is found apotheosized into its Christian character of *caritas* by Dante in the prose explanations to the poems of the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convivio*. There follow summaries of Guido Cavalcanti's famous philosophical canzone on the nature of love, "Donna mi prega," and of three commentaries on it of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. In his analyses, Nelson gives due attention to those philosophical, psychological and physiological implications that meet and join with or are rejected by the Neoplatonic tradition of love theory in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Lorenzo de' Medici's "synthesis of Platonism and the lyrical tradition of the early Renaissance" (p. 46) as expressed in his *Comento sopra alcuni de' suoi sonetti* is carefully considered as is the Ficinian

inspired Platonism of Pico della Mirandola's Commentary on the difficult Neoplatonic *Canzone d'amore* of Girolamo Benivieni.

In the love treatises of the Renaissance, as the author points out, "love is a concept of multiple derivation: Christian charity, Plato's love, the friendship of Aristotle and Cicero, and the love of the *stilnuovo* poets and of Petrarch are all importantly represented" (p. 73). In Chapter II ("Love Treatises"), Nelson traces in the love treatises various Platonic elements, especially the dominant theme or doctrine of Renaissance Neoplatonic love theory: Love is a desire for beauty, beauty being a splendor of God in things which in turn, being fixed in a spiritual hierarchical order of beauty, can lead the lover to progressively greater degrees of apprehension of the Deity. Important accompanying motives, in particular the system of ethics that derives from such a central doctrine and the crucial question of the relationship and inter-dependence of cognition and love, or intellect and will, are given proper attention. The analyses of the love treatises begin with the Commentary on Plato's *Symposium* written by Marsilio Ficino, the indisputable fountainhead of Renaissance Neoplatonism. Even more treatment is accorded the *Dialoghi d'amore* of Leone Ebreo, another fundamental source for sixteenth century writers of love treatises. Also considered are the treatises of Francesco Cattani da Diacceto (Ficino's chief disciple), the encyclopedic *Libro di natura d'amore* of Mario Equicola and the works of several other writers (among whom are some dissenters to "Platonic love"), including the facile treatment of the subject in Pietro Bembo's *Asolani* and in the more familiar fourth book of Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano*, works which give a mundane setting to the speculation on Platonic love.

Nelson's analyses of these matters are conducted with competence and diligence, yet an objection may be raised as to the method employed. I doubt whether so many pages (one hundred and sixty-two) were needed or advisable for a discussion of the two traditions as preliminary to an analysis of Bruno's dialogue. The important Neoplatonic elements in the love treatises are remarkably alike, and a more synthetic treatment, with some pertinent quotations, would have served the purpose. Differences among the various writers could likewise have been pointed out simply. Nelson's method of summarizing one by one the many treatises leads to a needless prolixity, especially since we are later reminded of the Platonic features of Bruno's dialogue in the chapter dedicated to it. Diffuseness also

occasionally spoils the flow of the exposition. In one case, in order to illustrate that a particular theme in the *Eroici furori* was common to the whole tradition of Platonic love treatises, the author quotes sizeable passages from five authors (pp. 183-185). A footnote with one passage and references to others would clearly have been in order. The nature of the book, however, is informative rather than interpretative so that its value lies in what it offers to the uninitiated reader rather than to the scholar of Bruno and Italian literature. Thus even the copious quotations in Italian are accompanied by faithful translations into English.

Bruno's great debt to Platonic and Neoplatonic ideas is clear from the very problem his *Eroici furori* is concerned with: the ascension to the Deity via love for beauty, the return to ultimate unity by the soul exiled in a world of multiplicity. Therefore it is no surprise that the process of ascent to knowledge of the Divine is articulated in the idiom of the earlier Platonic love treatises. Chapter III of Nelson's book is dedicated to a detailed analysis of Bruno's dialogue and the question of "heroic love." "Heroic love" is for Bruno a rational impulse seeking the intellectual apprehension of the good and the beautiful. In the context of Bruno's work, then, it is an intellectual passion which has nothing to do with the flesh, although, as love, it is expressed in the poems of the dialogue in the language of love poetry as developed from the Troubadours through Petrarch and his sixteenth century epigons. The poems are then given their allegorical or "spiritual" interpretation by the interlocutors of the dialogue.

Pointing to Bruno's ethical intent and the fact that Bruno's theories of knowledge are fused with his conception of the moral problem, Nelson writes: "When the philosopher knows divine beauty, he will love it; and loving it, he will transform himself so as to unite with it. This is the theme of the *Eroici furori* from the first sonnet to the closing lines of the last dialogue" (p. 183). There is no end to such heroic love because of the infinity of the universe—and so of the Deity (*Deus in rebus*), but in the very realization of this fact the soul surges on seeking to embrace what it can to the extent of its capacity, for a lofty defeat is greater than a lowly victory.

It is when he seeks to relate the *Eroici furori* to the other writings of Bruno (Chapter IV) and comes to some general conclusions on Bruno's philosophy that Nelson is less adequate as a guide. The philosophical "system" ideated by Giordano Bruno is nebulous enough, and Mr. Nelson is not to be blamed if he has not succeeded

in clarifying it. To claim, however, that "of all the many philosophic traditions which Bruno studied and from which he drew, the decisive one is the Platonic" is certainly misleading and indicative of an unfortunate unilateral position that undermines Nelson's treatment of Bruno and reveals a desire to keep the Italian philosopher in the company of the Platonists. It is a claim that could be made of most Renaissance philosophers, but the originality and importance of Bruno lies elsewhere than in an adherence to certain Platonistic elements. That part of Bruno's speculations which was to contribute so importantly to the development of a modern approach toward nature has its roots in the naturalism of Bernardino Telesio from whom Bruno derived such fundamental concepts as the unity and autonomy of nature, and with them, a materialistic conception inspired ultimately by Pre-Socratic teachings. Nelson seems led into his one-sided position by his resistance to the interpretation of Bruno's philosophy as being of a materialistical bent and by his conviction that there was no "final" rejection by the Italian philosopher of either Platonism or transcendentalism despite the "changes in Bruno's philosophy in the direction of naturalism and sensationalism" (p. 262). But surely the fundamental Platonic (and Aristotelian) principle of the antithesis between idea or form on the one hand and matter on the other is opposed by Bruno. As to the nature of Bruno's God, Nelson insists that Bruno maintained to the very end that God is both immanent and transcendent. To be sure, there are enough statements in Bruno to prove that he did not relinquish the concept of God as transcendent. Nonetheless, in this aspect of *Mens super omnia*, the Deity is not accessible to reason, but only to faith. Faith, however, according to Bruno, is the means by which the masses are to be satisfied, while it is the duty and privilege of the philosopher to seek truth by looking upon the Deity in the only way he may be understood, as *Deus in rebus*, God as *Natura naturans*. There is in Bruno, in short, a revival of the Avveroistic principle of the double truth which was very likely adopted by him in his testimony before the judges of the Venetian Inquisition. Yet Nelson surprisingly considers such testimony as "conclusive" evidence "that Bruno did not repudiate transcendental concepts" (p. 255).

The presence of a God that is now immanent and now transcendent has long been recognized as the central problem in Bruno. Nelson seems to feel it is no problem at all. But simply to say that in Bruno such conflicting ideas "coexist" in what Nelson vaguely calls a

"dualistic conception" of the universe does not resolve or do away with the problem as the author so apparently thinks (p. 256 and p. 262). It seems that it has not occurred to Nelson to seriously ask a question that no scholar of Bruno can justifiably avoid asking: what does a transcendent God mean in the context of Bruno's concept of an infinite universe in which God acts not from above or outside things, but as a law and formative principle operating from within and through all things? In such a view of the world, a transcendent God (whatever reluctance or incapacity there may have been on Bruno's part to do away with such a concept) is expendable if not meaningless.

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George R. Havens and Norman L. Torrey, eds., *Voltaire's Catalogue of his Library at Ferney* (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1959. 258 pp. *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, 9). THIS carefully prepared document should bring joy to the heart of every eighteenth-century scholar and devotee. Finally, it is possible in an eminently easy fashion to make a rapid check of the authors and titles considered important enough by Voltaire to figure in his permanent library. The scholarly world owes a debt to Havens and Torrey (and others laboring in the vineyard, see p. 14) for their perseverance at a demanding task which dates from their visit in 1927 to the present home of Voltaire's library in Leningrad.

The editors explain, in a short and informative introduction, that they have awaited the appearance, in the Soviet Union, of a complete catalogue of Voltaire's books, long promised. Like some other announced Soviet scholarly projects, this modern scientific catalogue remains a project in progress. Thus, the editors make clear that the catalogue here published can be only a tentative one. Working far from their source which they have not seen since 1927, the present editors have painstakingly filled in as many of the lacunae as it was humanly possible to do. Thus, for many entries in this tentative list, there are certain data (the result of careful surmise) which have clearly been marked as tentative.

The presentation of the information is nothing if not reasonable and the user of the lists will have little difficulty in mastering the

apparatus if he follows the simple symbols of organization. The book is divided into two parts: List A and List B. In List A, the editors have reproduced the Ferney catalogue (mostly written in the hand of Wagnière or Voltaire), wisely, without change. Thus the indications of position in the original library at Ferney (e. g. "au-dessus de la porte en fenêtre"), the many crossings-out (if legible) when books were moved to another shelf, and the rather erratic spelling characteristic of the century are all reproduced *in toto*. The second, interpretive List B contains in alphabetical order by author all the titles in the library according to the Ferney list as well as other titles known to have been possessed by Voltaire. It is here that the scholarship of the editors can be fully appreciated. There are simple and clear cross-indications which permit easy reference from one list to the other and incidental information on individual titles where warranted.

Complete or not, this catalogue becomes a necessity for anyone working in the eighteenth century. It is also the browser's delight, and much insight into the taste and thinking of the Patriarch of Ferney can be gleaned simply by reading through the list, although, as the editors warn, Voltaire did not necessarily read and esteem all the books he owned. Voltaire's predilection and competence in the matter of foreign languages is patent in the preponderance of Latin, English, and Italian titles and in the almost total absence of texts in Greek, Spanish, and German. One is struck by the obvious interest he had in the novel, for it would not seem probable on first reflection that it should be a favorite genre with him. Strangely enough, there is no copy of *Manon* and little else by Prévost save translations. Best of all, the reader is privileged to catch a Voltaire off-guard as he jots down in his catalogue or on the bindings such typical outbursts as "tragédies barbares c:a:d. anglaises," or "Le barbare Shakspear, traduit par le charlatan Le Tourneur," or *Candide en Dannemarc* to which the true father has appended "par un sot."

On page 23 of the introduction—concerning the matter of a Shaftesbury title missing from the collection—it seems possible that the "il libro e mandato . . ." in Voltaire's Italian might easily mean that his own copy of the book in question is being entrusted to the Geneva bookseller for forwarding to Capacelli rather than that Voltaire had ordered a new copy, the more so in the light of what follows in Voltaire's Italian. A necessarily cursory examination of the rest of the mechanics of the volume brings this reviewer to iterate his



admiration for the simple handling of complicated material in which the numbers and cross references "work" without confusion.

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J. ROBERT LOY

Peter Dalcher, *Die Fischereiterminologie im Urkundenbuch von Stadt und Amt Zug 1352 bis 1528* (Frauenfeld: Verlag Huber & Co., 1957. xl + 199 pp. Beiträge zur Schweizerdeutschen Mundartforschung, 7). ES ist erfreulich, dass das Interesse für die Fachsprachen und ihre historische Entwicklung sich in den Kreisen der Germanisten langsam Bahn bricht. Während man aber fleissig angefangen hat u. a. die Soldatensprache, die Seemannssprache, die Bergwerkssprache und die Sprache der Winzer zu untersuchen, wissen wir von der Fischersprache noch erstaunlich wenig, obwohl sie logischerweise eine der ältesten Fachsprachen sein muss. In Behaghels *Die deutsche Sprache* (9. Aufl., 1953) werden ihr vier Worte gewidmet. Feist, *Die deutsche Sprache* (1933) und Bach, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (5. Aufl., 1953) nennen die Sprache der Fischer überhaupt nicht in ihrem Abschnitt der Sondersprachen. Ebenso wenig erwähnt sie Schirmer in seinem Artikel über "Die Erforschung der deutschen Sondersprachen" *GRM* V (1913). Wir sind deshalb Herrn Dalcher zu Dank verpflichtet, dass er sich dieses "Stiefkindes" der Germanistik angenommen hat. Und zwar hat er uns den Dienst geleistet, einen kleinen, streng begrenzten Abschnitt gründlich und erschöpfend zu untersuchen.

Nach einer Einleitung über den Charakter der Urkundensprache erklärt der Verf., dass er unter "Zugerischen Urkunden" nicht eine sprachliche Geschlossenheit voraussetzt, sondern auch Stücke in Betracht zieht, "deren Aussteller sowohl als Empfänger fremd sind, die aber zugerische Belange berühren." (S. XVII). Er betrachtet konsequent die Wörter nur in ihrer Beziehung zur Urkundensprache. Dadurch wird zwar das Wort ein wenig aus dem Verband gezogen, wird ein wenig "blutlos," und ein Vergleich mit den Wörtern und der Terminologie, wie er in Fachbüchern, z. B. in Gregor Mangolds *Fischbüchlein*, oder im *Tegernseer Angel- und Fischbüchlein*, hrsg. von A. Birlinger, in *Lucidarien* und *Speculas Naturae* vorkommt, wäre zu empfehlen gewesen. Wenn andererseits auf S. 24 gesagt wird: "Dem Synonymenreichtum der heutigen Mdaa . . . steht die

relative Synonymenarmut der älteren Urkundensprache . . . gegenüber," muss man schon erwidern, dass dies zwei nicht vergleichbare Einheiten sind: ist doch die Urkundensprache eine mehr oder wenig standardisierte, offizielle Sprache, welche als solche eben dem Dialekt gegenüber steht.

Der Wortschatz ist eingeteilt in Fischnamen, Fischfanggeräte und Varia, und von jedem Wort sind dann Belege, Bedeutung, Verbreitung, Etymologie und "besondere Fragen" behandelt. So kommen viele interessante Tatsachen ans Licht und viele Probleme werden aufgeworfen. Man fragt sich aber öfters ob etwas mehr Beschränkung dem Ganzen nicht zugute gekommen wäre. Schon in der Einleitung könnte gekürzt werden. Warum nicht bloss eine Definition der Urkundensprache (S. IX-XI), sondern auch noch eine Geschichte des Urkundenstudiums (S. XII-XV)? Dies könnte besser den Werken, die sich ausschliesslich mit dieser Sprache befassen, wie die von Boesch und Bindschedler, überlassen werden. Auch viele der etymologischen Betrachtungen, insofern sie nichts Neues bringen, scheinen überflüssig, z. B. wenn auf S. 12 vierzehn Zeilen der Etymologie des Wortes *Aal* gewidmet und die Auffassungen von Kluge-Götze, Trübner u. a. wiederholt werden, ohne dass ihnen eigene, neue Funde gegenübergestellt würden. An einer anderen Stelle werden für die Etymologie eines Wortes Belege aus veralteten Quellen zitiert, wie auf S. 53, wo Adelung und Grimm als Autoritäten genannt werden. Man fragt sich, ob es nicht des Guten zu viel ist, wenn auf sieben Seiten vom Wort *Fisch* die Rede ist. Die Verwendung dieses Wortes a. generell, b. mit Bezug auf bestimmte Fischnamen, c. in Komposita ist so allgemein, dass es füglich mit wenigen Worten abgetan werden könnte und es könnte verwiesen werden nach einem Buch wie Helmut Carls *Die dt. Pflanzen- und Tiernamen*. Uebrigens gibt der Abschnitt "Fischnamen" sehr genaue und interessante Details über die Verbreitung des Wortes, sowie über seine Bedeutung, die oft, wie das bei Tier-, Pflanzen- und Mineralnamen gebräuchlich ist, zwischen zwei oder mehr Begriffen schwankt und nie scharf umrissen ist. Bemerkenswert ist die Verschiedenheit der Bedeutung bei einem und demselben Fischnamen (Balchen) je nach dem See, wo man den betr. Fisch fängt (S. 45). Man wünschte sich mehr solche Statistiken!

Einige kleine Ergänzungen könnten beim Lösen von etymologischen und anderen Problemen behilflich sein:

Auf S. 35 § 4 könnte Götzes *Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar* (1956), wo die Form *Hassel* gegeben wird, zitiert werden. Auch auf S. 108

hätte dieses Glossar als Beweisstück gelten können, wo "Hegene—Angelgerät aus Schnur in mehreren Haken; hegenen—angeln; Hegener—Fischer" alle als alem. bezeichnet werden. Auf S. 124 hätte, bei dem Versuch die Bedeutung des Wortes *Weidling* festzustellen, das nl. *weischuit* (plattes Schiff), van Ginneken, *Handboek der Nederlandsche Taal* II (1914), S. 529, der auch ahd. *weida* (Jagd, Fischfang) gibt, gutes Vergleichungsmaterial gebildet.

Auf S. 157 steht der Druckfehler, Graff, *Mhd. Wb.*, anstatt *Ahd. Wb.*

Das Lesen der verschiedenen Worterklärungen wirft einige Fragen auf. So auf S. 66, wo die sehr unsichere Etymologie und Bedeutung von *Kettling* besprochen wird. Verf. gibt da eine Liste von "Wörtern, die unserm "Kettling" lautlich nahestehen," kümmert sich aber weiter nicht um ihre Verwandtschaftswahrscheinlichkeit. Hätte er sie näher betrachtet, so würde er z. B. mhd. *cête*—"grosser Fisch oder fischartiges Tier" schon ausgeschaltet haben mit der Begründung, dass man hier das lat. *cētus*—"Wal, Dolfen oder Haifisch" vorfindet. Bei *Ketti*, schwzd. *chett*—"Grube, Wasserlauf bei einer Mühle" denke man ebenso ans Lat. und zwar an *cetaria*—"ein mit dem Meer in Verbindung gebrachter Weiher oder eine Wassergrube, worin besonders Tonfische, aber auch andere, gesammelt wurden." Diese Erklärung stimmt nun genau überein mit der des *Schw. Id.* III. 592: "Chett—offener, hölzener Kanal durch welchen das Wasser auf die Räder von Wasserwerken, bes. von Mühlen geleitet wird"; als Beispiel wird gegeben: "D'Fisch alli im ganzen G'ch g'hören Dem, wo's im Zins het; ammen hand si d'Müller selber g'fangen und den *Becken* mit schönen *Forellen* Presanter g'macht (Dietschi, 1844)." Dies würde Herrn Dalchers Hypothese, dass *Kettlinge* identisch seien mit *Forellen*, stützen, besonders weil auch hier von Zinsfischen die Rede ist. Eine Möglichkeit bestünde noch, dass der Name *Kettling* mit *Kette* (Rudel, Schar) verwandt wäre, um so mehr als doch auch die *Forellen* in Scharen schwimmen.

Auf S. 70 könnte man bezweifeln, ob es wahrscheinlich sei, dass mnl. *gaern* in der Bedeutung von *Netz* aus dem Obd. stammt. Die Holländer waren von altersher die Fischer "par excellence"; es fragt sich, weshalb ihre Fachsprache Termini vom Ausland her aufnehmen würde, wenn nicht auch die Methode von dort gekommen wäre; davon ist nichts bekannt. Nun beziehen sich aber die Beispiele von dem Herrn Dalcher zitierten *Mnl. Wtb.* von Verwijs in keinerlei Weise auf *Fischnetz*, sie geben alle vielmehr das Wort *gaern* (Netz) in symbolischer Bedeutung, wie es u. a. die Mystik gebrauchte, z. B.

"Hi sach, dat een gruwelic net, een gaern was over all die wereld altemale ghetogen." Hingegen gibt das *Wdb. d. Nl. Taal* IV. 292 *garen* nicht nur in der Bedeutung von *Fischnetz* (heutzutage veraltet, aber im 17. Jh. bei Winschooten im Seemannswtb. vorkommend), sondern auch als *Vogelnetz* oder "Strick zum Wildfang."

Dem Verf. sind die Dialektkenntnisse bei den Worterklärungen dienstlich gewesen, was u. a. die einwandfreie Erklärung von *Trichtergarn*—"Netz, das im Trichter, d. h. in der Tiefe des Sees, verwendet wird" (S. 129), beweist. Weil die Mundart für das Abfüllgerät *Trachter* sagt, ist die Bedeutung "Netz von trichterförmiger Gestalt" von vornherein ausgeschaltet.

Man kann das Werk von Herrn Dalcher, dessen Brauchbarkeit durch einige verdeutlichende Karten, eine ausführliche Bibliographie, sowie ein vollständiges Sachregister erhöht wird, als eine wertvolle Pionierarbeit betrachten. Es ist zu wünschen, dass Verf. auf diesem Gebiet weiterarbeiten wird.

Lewis College

JUDY MENDELS

William Rose, *Heinrich Heine. Two Studies of his Thought and Feeling* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956. vii + 163 pp. \$2.90). Joseph Dresch, *Heine à Paris (1831-1856) d'après sa correspondance et les témoignages de ses contemporains* (Paris: Didier, 1956. 177 pp. *Etudes de Littérature Etrangère et Comparée*, 33). THE two studies by Professor Rose and the honorary rector of the Académie de Strasbourg have one thing in common, they are scholarly books, not partisan tracts. M. Dresch had devoted a lifetime of work to the study of political and social aspects of German literature, especially to *Junges Deutschland*. His Heine book is thus a natural sequel. Professor Rose seems to have been particularly intrigued by the difficulty that Heine's thoughts and emotions offer to the modern reader. In his preface he ventures to say that "the controversy that has raged about his (Heine's) character and opinions for a century and a quarter has preserved him as a living figure to the present day," but he is also convinced that the magic of his poetry, the fascination of his prose style and the thought and feeling by which his spirit was animated have so far escaped analysis and explanation.

M. Dresch gives a reasoned and reasonable summary of Heine's

Paris years without trying for a formula that would summarize the innumerable actions, sayings and reactions that we find in Heine's books, letters or Houben's admirable collection of conversations. He is able also to add one piece of new material from a manuscript in the possession of Professor Baldensperger. I could think of only one more possibility, Dr. Hofer, that extraordinary expatriate from Doeschnitz in Thuringia, whose life is still waiting for the mastery of a Maurois. He is not mentioned, though apparently he knew Heine well and suggested to Béranger that he should visit the dying poet, as he said himself in a footnote to Germain Meurer's Heine article in his *Biographie générale*. But Dr. Dresch did not aim at absolute completeness and guarded carefully against the mistake of his earliest predecessor, P. Betz, who believed too readily in an influence of Heine on French literature. He rejected just as cautiously the exaggerated psychoanalytical interpretations. All through his book we enjoy, however, the psychological acumen of a wise Alsatian who, almost imperceptibly, knew how to give emphasis or to cast slight doubts where others who write about Heine tend to take everything at face value. We must, after all, not forget that many an essay or even book could be written and get into print after Heine's death, if the writer could give the impression of earlier intimacy. Even the book of Heine's last love, the famous *Mouche*, has a painfully self-serving literary quality.

The study contains eleven chapters and, what must be especially mentioned in a French book, a good Index (Why Heine went to Paris. First Impressions and Publications. Literary and artistic Relations. *Relations mondaines*. The private life. Political and social Relations. Fighting Books. 1848. Works of Suffering. Memoirs and Confessions. Reputation of Heine after his Death.)—It is obviously impossible to single out one thing or another without doing injustice to the whole work and its careful balance, but when we consider that two of Heine's cousins had become rich as slave traders in New Orleans and then became wealthy Paris bankers and related to the high aristocracy by marriage, Heine's unusual social status in Paris takes on a peculiar aspect of pride and suffering. Another interesting light is thrown on Heine's reputation when we learn that nearly all who knew him, including one who translated him, were not too conversant with his language. This may account for the seemingly benevolent, but actually rather feuilletonistic treatment Heine experienced in Paris. Even his admirers based their impressions largely



on hearsay or on observations in some salon and not on his writings. But this has always been part of the French literary scene. M. Dresch can take it for granted, but we know that this social atmosphere was, for a while at least, gratifying to Heine and almost a social triumph. The matter of the pension, that Bartels once dwelled upon with emphasis, is treated conservatively. One wonders whether there are no dossiers in the French archives or whether the files of Thiers are inaccessible. Perhaps someone could still look into this matter.

It is considerably more difficult to give the content and to assess the quality of the two essays by Professor Rose, *Heine's Political and Social Attitude* and *Heine's Jewish Feeling*. Their author intended, it would seem, a factual analysis by bringing together from letters, conversations and works all that has a bearing on his topics, but without arriving at any general conclusions of his own. Of course, we have many Heine pictures. For beside the source books (Strodtmann, Elster, Hirt, Houben) we have Max J. Wolff, Lewis Browne, Ch. Andler, Louis Untermeyer, Antonina Vallentin, Marcuse and Max Brod, to name just the major books. They all emphasize one side of Heine and try to bring his incredible contradictions and conflicting utterances into a common system, generally the psychological explanation of the sensitive, proud Jew who belonged nowhere. Professor Rose seems to have made an effort not to succumb to any general formula for fear of ending up with unwarranted deductions rather than facts. Thus he let the individual utterances speak for themselves and fall into a natural synthesis in the reader's mind. I am not quite certain that he has been altogether successful. The first essay, in which the *Burschenschaften*, Marx, Lasalle and many such matters are dealt with in chronological rather than psychological arrangement, is perhaps quite informative, but we cannot ever be sure where Heine stood, if he stood anywhere, because there is so little consistency and no persistence in this presumed stand. This would indicate that Heine had no system of thought and did not feel the lack of one and therefore did not have the need to come to definite conclusions on the matters here set apart from his entire life and work. The naive man who needed a wife, even a cantankerous wife, and who wrote the many naive poems in that lilting tone, like the one to his "schönes Weib," the man who could not control his expenditures and who could not control his tongue even toward the uncle who paid him an allowance, simply was not the man of a consistent system of thoughts. He depended on whims, his convictions



were personal and emotional, but never formed a consistent logical body that could be analysed. At least so it appears to me.

The second essay suffers from another difficulty. It is even more problematical at first blush, for here we are given a list of observations on a man's feelings. When Untermeyer called Heine "Germany's greatest lyric poet," a sentiment Charles Andler seems to have shared, he gave his own feelings and probably convinced those who wished to agree with him. When Tabak went into the Judaic Lore in Heine or when Brod cited Heinz Politzer's translation of Süskind, we again sense an identification that can become infectuous if we allow ourselves to be infected. But an objective listing cannot achieve this end. It would appear therefore that Professor Rose did not have this end in mind.

But what has become of the efforts of Jews and gentiles to identify themselves with Heine? As Professor Rose says, they have not resulted in any generally accepted picture. For though quite a few of the above mentioned biographies are more or less identical in tone and spirit, somewhat different from those of an earlier epoch, for instance that of William Sharp or Proelss, or partly affected by the Hitler period, I cannot find my particular Heine in any of them, though the first half of Brod comes rather close to my picture. I have long wondered why this might be so.

I believe the reason for it is that I lived among Jews as a child, as did Brod, and retained therefore innumerable pictures of old and young men, among them also the traits we find in Heine. For at the beginning of this century, the old traditions were still alive in Franconian towns and villages. I can see the patriarch of the family in tasseled cap and with a long pipe sitting day after day in his arm chair watching the people pass by. As the sun moved, one of his sons took the father's chair across the street in front of our house. The mother and the unmarried elderly sister would sit beside him with some embroidery. Here I first learned that I must not say "Du" to Bertha, but address her as *Sie*, but she, of course, understood and "bought me" a whip in my grandfather's own store. One brother never made a living, hard though he tried, when he bought from us picture postcards in the hope of peddling them at the railway station. But he, too, was supported and listened to good-naturedly when he foolishly joined into a trade with other *schmuser*. These are but a few pictures, but some such impressions, and many like them, add up to a feeling and understanding of the Düsseldorf of Heine's father

or the Hamburg of his uncle. This is not idle reminiscing. I believe such impressions as having admired the two sets of cooking utensils in my friends' kitchens and eaten their goosefat cookies and having learned how to read a prayer book in Hebrew letters are impressions that involve, however critical and less naive we become later, something like first love, a safe treasure of memories and images and excitements and emotions through which we can later enter into the feelings of others who have had similar experiences and emotions. I am not sure that the formula of Heine's unsuccessful identification with German, Jew and Frenchman is very good, because I can see a similarity between "Schühlein's Justel" of the picture postcards and the poet Heine who could not make a living by trading. The patience of old Süß Schühlein and Heine on his mattresses have something else in common. I also see in him the Jewish conventionality—he worries about what would be said of him, but again not too much, unless the family were involved. What could be more touchingly Jewish than that trusting devotion to his wife whom he knew to be fallible? What is more Jewish than his care to give his aged mother the most pleasing and flattering picture of his existence? What is a little fib when one can do so much good! Still, how touchingly his absolute lonesomeness enters into the letters to his mother! At any rate, he lived by his emotions, impulses, his will, and for the impression he wished to give rather than a desire for consistency in the abstract. If he became cynical, it was partly through his wit, partly because of his adventurous sense of power. He was still close to the days when every morning brought his people a new fight for survival. Thus he had the resilience for living in the moment, like Süskind or Walter, whom he himself once regarded as the greatest lyric poet of Germany. Once we have something of this immediate understanding through long acquaintance with men of Heine's people, Professor Rose's points begin to form an outline and make absorbing reading. Thus it may be fortunate that, in this delicate matter, he counted on the collaboration of experienced and sensitive readers.

*Muhlenberg College*

HEINRICH MEYER

Halldór Hermannsson, ed., *The Hólar Cato. An Icelandic School-book of the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1958. xxxiv + 91 pp. 6 plates. \$3.50. *Islandica*, 39).

"HALLDÓR Hermannsson died on August 28, 1958. He had prepared this edition of the *Hólar Cato* at the request of Cornell University Library and the Fiske Icelandic Collection; they wished in this way to celebrate a double occasion: his eightieth birthday of January 6 of this year and the fiftieth anniversary of the first volume of *Islandica*. The reappearance of Halldór Hermannsson's name on the title page of *Islandica* was to be a reminder of the debt of respect and gratitude owed to him by the institutions and the scholarly community which he served. Now this last addition to an inimitable achievement will also remind those who knew him of their loss."

Everyone who knew Halldór Hermannsson and his work could not but subscribe to the sentiments here expressed by the current curator of the Cornell Collection, Jóhann Hannesson. Halldór Hermannsson was not only an extremely prolific bibliographer, but also a great scholar and imaginative writer, as his contributions to *Islandica* show. It is no exaggeration to say that his achievement was inimitable, and while alive, he had head and shoulders over other Icelandic scholars in this country. No one was as versatile as he, writing on the history of natural science as well as cultural and literary history.

The present work is a piece of cultural and literary history combined, dealing with schools and textbooks in Iceland, notably the here edited *Hólar Cato*. The first school known in Iceland was that of the Anglo-Norman missionary Rudolph in Bær, Borgarfjörður (1030-49). Two well-known schools of the eleventh century were those of Haukadalr, kept by Teitr Ísleifsson, and of Oddi, kept by Sæmundr the Learned, also the school at the bishop's see in Skálholt, kept by bishop Ísleifr Gízzurarson. But the oldest description of a school is that of the bishopric of Hólar in the North, founded by Jón Ögmundsson after 1105. There were also monastic schools, but the schools at the sees were probably more continually kept, even in Catholic times. After the Reformation these were in practically continuous session up to about 1800 when they were replaced by one school in Reykjavík and Bessastaðir and then again in Reykjavík (1856-). Halldór actually wrote the present book as a centenary publication for this school in 1956. Up to 1905 the school remained a good Latin school, after that it was turned into a school of Modern Languages, especially English and German.

The Distichs of Cato — Catonis *Disticha*—are generally held to have been composed in the third century A. D. After that they became the most popular book of behavior during the Middle Ages as well as an elementary textbook of Latin for the schools. In Iceland one distich was quoted by the famous author of the *First Grammatical Treatise* during the twelfth century. The thirteenth century saw a full anonymous translation under the title of *Hugsvinnsmál* under the meter (*ljóðahátt*) of *Hávamál*. The Hólar Cato is accompanied by two translations, one in *ljóðahátt* or some irregular alliterative meter, the other in *rímur* meters (*ferskeytt*, *stafhent*, *braghent*, *skáhent*, *samhent*). Finally during the seventeenth century Bjarni Gissurarson turned the *disticha* into *rímur* meters (*ferskeytt*, *stafhent*) but only in part. As an Appendix Halldór Hermannsson prints both the thirteenth century and the seventeenth century versions for comparison with the versions of the men of the Reformations; which actually are the worst of the lot as much Reformation poetry.

In addition to the *Disticha* the Hólar Cato contains *Dicta Septem Sapientum Graeciae* translated by the learned A(rngrímur) J(ónsson), likewise Johannes Sulspicius, *de Civilitate Morum*, as well as *Oratio Dominica*, *Benedictio Mensae*, and, finally, *Gratiarum actis post Sumptum Cibum*.

That concludes the book excepting ten pages of facsimiles of the original. The whole makes an exceedingly interesting contribution to Iceland's cultural and literary history, a fit conclusion to Hermannsson's great life work.

*The Johns Hopkins University*

STEFAN EINARSSON

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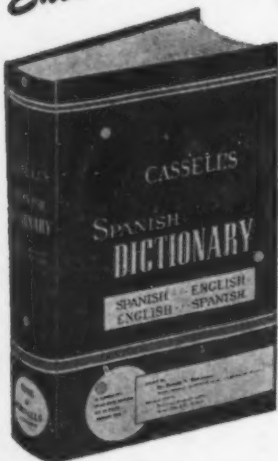
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